Labor Age

FEBRUARY 1924 20 Cents

IMMIGRATION

(What Shall We Do With the Stranger at Our Gates?)

SUPER-POWER

(Battle of Giants Begins)

THE PENNSYLVANIA

"ROAD OF DEATH"

"LA FOLLETTE FOR PRESIDENT!"

Vol. XIII, No. 2 FEBRUARY, 1924

20c per copy

Labor Age

Monthly Labor Digest

$2.00 per year

Published by Labor Publication Society, Inc., Evening Telegram Building, Seventh Ave. and 16th St., New York

Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE ALIEN?

ONCE every so often the American people hail the alien before them, to decide what to do with him.

They are compelled to do this by circumstances, and also by their own inability to solve his problem. Despite all the reports of commissions—and despite our hundred years of experience with immigration—we have never succeeded in going about the matter of finding a solution in what could be called a scientific way. The general method followed is to wait until an emergency is upon us, and then to rush into legislation.

This year sees the same situation arise. Our present immigration law shortly expires, and a new one must replace it. Brother Alifas shows how Labor views the new legislation, in a general way. It favors restriction. Some sections of the Movement, however, insist that this restriction should not be on racial lines. A new quota law, for example, should not go back to 1890 for its test. Such a proposal would work a grave injustice to races in need, perhaps, of immigration more than any others. It is this point of view that Brother Danish presents.

This much is clear beyond a doubt. The immigration issue is purely an economic one. All the hullabaloo about "inferior races" is beside the point. Dr. Hourwich, in his **"Immigration and Labor,"** successfully exploded the idea that the new immigration, upon arrival, is inferior in any way to the old—except in lack of knowledge of the common language. He has even made some headway in showing that the immigrant is not as big an economic handicap to the American worker as is commonly imagined. But the handicap is there—as the worker himself knows only too well—a handicap shown in the much greater difficulty to effect widespread unionization in America than in European countries.

It can be pretty safely set down that the American Labor Movement cannot hope to come into its own until it has curbed the unlimited supply of foreign labor. A tightened labor market will allow it to extend its organization to the unorganized, and to make steel, textiles and other important industries solidly union. Even those few unions who stand for a more liberal policy in theory, show great reluctance in practice to admit newcomers to their ranks. This happens, even when such newcomers are of the same race as the members of these "liberal" unions, as Brother Danish testifies.

We are up against a practical situation, which must be met immediately. What shall be done about it? American Labor, in these composite articles, gives the answer. First, efforts to register or restrain the alien, after admittance to America, must be opposed to the last ditch. This is the first step toward serfdom of a new and vicious kind. Second, the 2% law must be as vigorously supported—to allow opportunity to organize the unorganized. Lastly, the law should apply fairly to all European nations—and not discriminate against the southern or eastern European groups.

A program of this sort means protection for the American workman and protection for the alien.

Let Congress hear about it!

Entered as second class matter, November 19, 1921, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. *Copyright, 1923.*

Labor Age

The Immigrant Before Congress

By N. P. ALIFAS

PUTTING THE QUESTION "What Shall We Do With the Incoming Alien?"

Keystone Photos

UNCLE SAM has a great host of strangers knocking daily at his door. They come from every nation under the sun—the greatest movement of peoples in the history of the world. What shall he do with them? What shall he say to them? What sort of reception shall he give them, if he does admit them to his household?

During the last 100 years, the U. S. Bureau of Labor tells us, 35,000,000 immigrants have found refuge in America. Gradually, year by year, the lines have been drawn tighter—and more and more limits have been put upon their coming. Imagine what a stream there would have been from starving and war-racked Europe during the past year, if the 3 per cent law had not been in effect. As it was, over 500,000 entered our ports and came to work among us.

The 3 per cent quota law is about to expire. It ceases to be operative in June of this year. Congress is now wrestling with the problem of what to do next.

American Labor has definite opinions upon what should be done—opinions framed out of its long experience. It knows the havoc that wave after wave of immigrants has created to living conditions in certain basic industries. It realizes how difficult will be the fight for better and better conditions for American workingmen, if constant competition is encouraged in the labor market. The Steel Trust and the National Association of Manufacturers know these things equally well—and therefore, are enthusiastically in favor of an open door to the immigrant.

What About the "Newcomer"?

It is over this economic issue that the fight hinges in Congress. We have gotten beyond the day when we can talk about the immigrant's good will and good intentions as an excuse for exploiting him—and using him to exploit the American worker. Of course, the newcomer has no direct desire to injure his American brother. He has an ambition to get the best that he can. But the point is, of course, that he does not get what the American would get, that he does lower the chances of the American to make further headway, and does serve as an instrument in the hands of the steel, railway and textile barons, against the native workman.

With that understanding, let me introduce you to the immigration legislation now before Congress. There is H. R. 101, a bill introduced by Representative Albert Johnson of Washington, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. It aims to limit still further the coming in of aliens into the United States, and provides selective tests and a lower quota for each nation. With the present law on the point of expiration, the unions connected with the American Federation of Labor have been eager to see this bill passed as promptly as possible. Extensive hearings have been held on the bill, but are now ended.

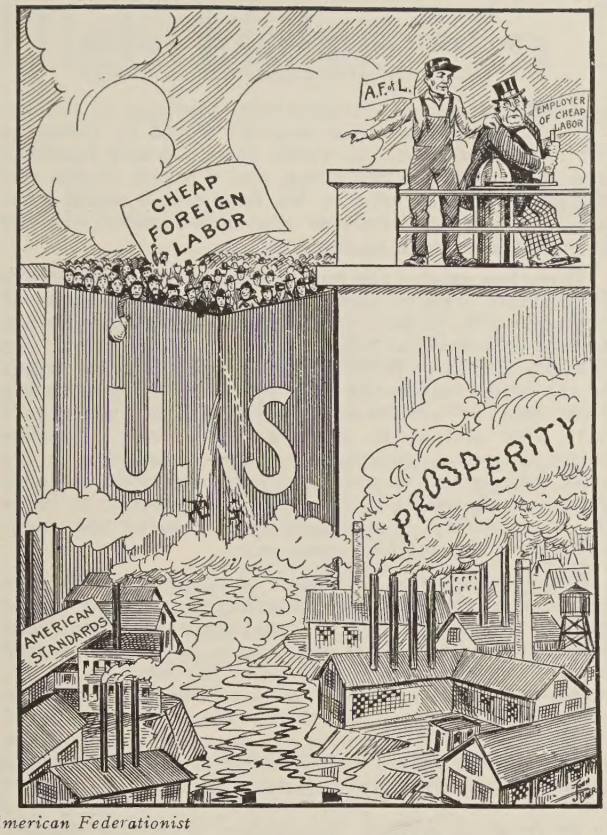
A number of amendments have been adopted in executive session by the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Just what these will be, is, of course, not known; but it is expected that the early part of February will see a new bill introduced, based on the discussions of the Committee. This new bill will probably require that only 2 per cent of the number of persons from any country that were here in 1890, be admitted in any one year. Such persons will be known as quota immigrants. In addition to these, allowance will be made for the relatives of such quota immigrants, provided the quota immigrant has been in the country for two years and has declared his intention of becoming a citizen. The law is liberalized in a further way. No restriction is placed upon any immigrant who is the husband, wife, father, mother or unmarried child of a citizen of the United States.

The act, as proposed, makes fair provision for the exclusion of alien seamen, without restricting their liberty of action too severely while in an American port. Owners of vessels must retain alien seamen on board until such person has been inspected by an immigration officer and furnished a landing card. If the owner fails to do this, he is liable to a fine in each case of $2,500. If his alien seaman or seamen do not return, the vessel will not be given clearance papers until they have on board as many aliens ineligible to citizenship as were on at the time of arrival. An attempted departure on the part of such vessel in violation of such provision is subject to a fine of not less than $3,000 or more than $10,000.

There is no provision in this bill for the checking up of aliens or restriction of their movements after entering the United States. So, that from that viewpoint, also, the measure is free from objectionable features.

Benefits to American Workmen

What will the passage of such a bill mean for the workers of America? The lines of employment will tighten in steel, in textiles, in garment manufacturing and in industries of many other kinds. A further chance to organize the workers in these industries, to drive home the message of united action, will be assured. There will be only left, as puzzling race problems for Labor, the incoming negro from the South and the "poor white trash" of Georgia and the Carolinas. But these folks cannot invade many industries, at least for some time to come. And they have the great advantage from Labor's viewpoint, of speaking our common language, which makes organization work among them an easier problem than with the newcomer from a non-English speaking land. It is one of the peculiar things about those extremists who are impatient with the rate of progress of American labor, that they place obstacles such as this in the way of Labor's further expansion, by advocating wide-open immigration.



American Federationist

HOLD BACK THE FLOOD

Representative Albert H. Vestal of Indiana has some ideas about immigration, also, which he has put into a bill. This is known as H. R. 3239. Labor is as much opposed to this bill, as it is in favor of the Johnson measure.

"Tracking the Alien"

The Vestal bill has for one of its objects the registration of immigrants already within the limits of this country. This is an idea sponsored by the Secretary of Labor, but is contained in this bill only in part. As the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization has given the Johnson measure the right of way, it is practically certain that H. R. 3239 will not get very far along its way. But the plan for registration of immigrants within this country may be embodied in another bill, or tacked on in the form of an amendment to the Johnson proposal. There is the danger that must be watched.

The American Federation of Labor is on record against the general scheme covered by the term "registration of aliens." The scheme generally plans for the registration of all aliens in this country, with such officer of the Immigration Service as the Commissioner General may designate.

AS THE A. F. OF L. SEES IT

The cartoon to the left represents the historic A. F. of L. attitude. It has been re-iterated in convention after convention. The organized workers feel strongly that an unchecked flood of immigration means an additional handicap to unionism in its attempt to bring all American workers into the fold. The chief objection heard within the organized labor ranks to any restrictive legislation is the attempt to discriminate between different national European groups.

The information to be given at the time of registration includes, among other things, the name of the alien, his nationality, personal appearance—height, complexion, color of hair and eyes, date and place of birth, marital condition, etc.

The scheme also provides that the alien at his annual registration shall pay the sum of $10—this to be used by the immigration authorities in giving aliens an education with a view to Americanize them. What constitutes "Americanization," of course, will depend upon the laws and the enforcement officers.

On first thought, one might say that registration of aliens is a necessary check-up system, to accompany a restriction of immigration into the country. It has been argued that aliens are regularly smuggled in, men who would be ineligible for entry under the laws. Aliens who are smuggled in, it is said, should be checked up and deported, upon apprehension by the authorities.

Mr. Burns Is Interested

On first thought, one might almost admit also that if aliens are to become American citizens they should be Americanized. On second thought, however, we find that such checking-up systems and such "educational" processes have possibilities for almost unlimited mischief. If aliens were to register, their movements and whereabouts would continually have to be checked up. Doubtless a passport system would become the vogue. For instance, an immigrant going from Pittsfield to Philadelphia, or from Philadelphia to Baltimore, might be required to report at police headquarters upon his leaving and again at police headquarters upon arrival. The right to issue passports—like the right to issue licenses—ordinarily carries with it the right to refuse to issue such passports, resulting in much delay and annoyance. This would establish a dangerous precedent which could be extended, and doubtless would be, to aliens who had become citizens and finally even to citizens.

We are informed that the Investigation Bureau

of the Department of Justice, headed by Mr. William J. Burns, has shown much interest in this proposed plan, possibly due to the additional opportunities it will furnish for the employment of detectives. Such a system would also furnish an additional field in which other detective agencies could expand themselves, resulting in unnecessarily harrassing persons who have a right to independence of movement and privacy. It is also claimed that many local authorities are controlled by the large manufacturing interests in their community, that in cases of strikes or labor troubles much pressure could be brought to bear upon the aliens through this Espionage System. It would not be difficult to lead many an alien to believe that his continued presence in the United States was dependent to a large extent upon how he conducted himself towards the concern by which he was employed. The larger the proportion of aliens in such industries, the greater would be the hold which the concern would have upon the citizens employed, the aliens serving as a buffer to hamper the desire for improved conditions of labor shown by citizen workmen. Furthermore, without a doubt should certain bureaus within the Department of Labor become important factors in the operation of industry, a great incentive would be furnished employers to attempt to secure control of these—and use them.

Keeping Tab on Everybody

Great danger might exist to our freedom of speech and freedom of thought in connection with such compulsory "education." It is one thing for an alien to be required to understand our scheme of government and to subscribe to our constitution and laws; and it is quite another thing to have him pass a test of what some may call American principles. There are certain elements within our population who believe that the so-called open shop movement is entitled to be called an American principle. There are others who believe that the principle of public ownership of public utilities is un-American. Great thought should therefore be given to these plans which at first may seem innocent enough, but which contain the germs of depriving the worker of his liberty, either directly or indirectly.

We now have too many laws on our statute books which breed spies, detectives and informers, and even encourage blackmail.

Let us stop this process before we engage one-fourth of the population to watch the private life and activities of the other three-fourths of the population.

From a viewpoint of increasing or retaining the personal liberty of our citizens, it would be far more expedient to have an Army large enough—or a police force large enough—to place men 100 feet apart along the boundary lines of our nation, for the purpose of preventing the smuggling in of aliens; rather than to employ a host of public and private detectives to keep tab of the doings of everybody in the country!

Labor's effort in Congress is, therefore, for the restriction of immigration, so that American workmen may have the chance to organize and build up a successful and militant movement. Equally set is it, on the other hand, against such freedom-destroying ideas as the checking, fingerprinting or registration of workers, alien or otherwise, after they have come into the land. The latter scheme would directly checkmate some of the very conditions we hope restriction will help us win.

NO POLICE GUARD OVER ALIENS

(From International Molders Journal)

THE inclusion of a registration provision in the immigration law to be enacted, would be unfair to the immigrant. It would place a heavy handicap upon him from the beginning, and it would enable employers to hold a club over his head which would operate as a constant reminder that this country was not in reality the home of the free.

There has existed for many years an urgent necessity to regulate immigration. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants have been poured upon our shores during periods of industrial depression when their arrival was not only an injury to them, but an equally great injury to the wage earners already here who were suffering from lack of employment. Undesirable immigrants have also arrived in large numbers from countries where the police authorities assisted emigration, in the same manner that a municipal judge suspends sentence upon an undesirable if the individual promises to leave the municipality immediately, and remove his undesirableness to another community.

But whatever the provisions of the law which may be necessary to regulate immigration, one thing seems certain if justice is to be done; once the immigrant has been admitted under our laws he should be assured the fullest and freest opportunity to enjoy all of the rights and privileges the country affords. We want no police supervision of registered aliens in the United States. As trade-unionists we are unwilling to have the methods of regulation applied to continental Europe fastened upon the United States. Every wage--earner must be free to quit unsatisfactory employment, free to go from one part of the country to another without restraint, free from police permits and police supervision, free to express his opinions, and free to participate in trade union activities.

High Lights of a Liberal Immigration Policy

By MAX D. DANISH

HERE is a further view of the immigration problem, as Labor sees it. While Brother Danish does not hint that restriction is not a necessity for American Labor, he shows that a number of unions feel that the limitation policy should be carried out in a humane manner. It should be as liberal as possible. It should, above all, not penalize any race or nation. From this contention, it follows that any quota test should not be based on the racial make-up of our population in 1890, but of 1910 and even of 1920.

The author also shows that part of the present demand for restriction is based on the "inferior race" myth. This is particularly the argument of those who wish to make the test in a year as far back as possible. American Labor, he thinks, should not "fall" for this sort of argument.

Since the World War a new group of political refugees has appeared in European countries. These come largely from southern and eastern Europe—the so-called undesirable new immigration. An 1890 test would debar many of these from this country. A conference on immigration by American labor unions is suggested as a move that would produce helpful results.

IN discussing immigration, it is frequently taken for granted that all unions in the American Federation of Labor are strongly in favor of almost any sort of restriction of the labor supply from abroad. This is a distinct error. There are a number of unions which favor as liberal an immigration policy, as is possible to safeguard at the same time the worker already here.

Most of these unions, it is true, are located in New York City or are composed of recent immigrant races. But they are none the less a part of the American Labor Movement. More than once have they blazed the way for new and more effective ways of carrying out the union program. When big strikes have rocked other industries, they have rushed to the help of their brothers with financial and moral assistance. The advancement of the Labor movement is their chief thought and aim.

Back of the viewpoint of these unions is this consideration: Immigration is not merely a question of self preservation for the American worker. There is also a humanitarian question involved. The immigrant must also be considered. He is our brother—a worker as ourselves. The door must be kept as wide open as is feasible for the oppressed of other nations—fleeing often because of religious, racial or political persecution.

Even the economic problem which the immigrant raises is not so great as is commonly imagined. He unionizes as rapidly as the American workman, if not in some cases, even faster. Language is scarcely a handicap to organizing work today, when every union is well equipped with men speaking almost every tongue. Only in flooding the labor market at certain critical times, and in impeding organization work normally a year or two, is there real danger from immigration to the Labor Movement of this country.

Can We Shut Out the "Oppressed"?

This viewpoint can pretty well stand the test of facts. There are certain races and religions which are hampered and harassed in European countries. There are certain political ideas which from time to time are anathema. Wave upon wave of political turnover may lead to the exclusion of now one, now another school of thought from Europe. Were the Socialists and trade unionists to escape from Russia, would they be denied admittance here? Under the quota law they would. Why should not these men, trampled upon by the Communist regime, be allowed to enter our doors?

That is merely one case. It might be applied in many different instances and to many different groups of individuals. The thing exists, and American workmen can ill afford to shut their eyes to it.

Again we come up against the economic dif-

ficulty. "These men, if admitted in large numbers, would break the backbone of American Labor." That certainly cannot be allowed to occur. American Labor has made a remarkable march forward, in the face of too many difficulties, as it is. That Movement must be allowed its full strength. But it is well to remember that the immigrant in the garment industry has formed strong and effective organizations. He has taken as much control there as has the American worker anywhere. In the last big steel strike, the immigrants welcomed the message of unionism even more than did the native-born workers.

But let us grant the economic objection to unlimited immigration. For it can scarcely be denied that the newcomers mean a halting of unionization for a year or two. That much time is required for reorganization of the arrivals. And that much time is perhaps too much for the healthy life of the Labor Movement. It could be using these energies in other directions, to its great advantage. It can be using them to perfect its organization among the American workmen. Even in that case, however, there is no reason why one set of racial groups should be discriminated against in favor of other groups.

The Bible As a Test

A writer in a current standard magazine has said that the Bible is the great book of Americanism. Any race or creed which breaks down the teaching of the Bible in the public schools should be debarred from entry. And the author of such "tommyrot" bears an almost unpronouncable foreign name! That, it can be emphatically said, is not the view of American Labor. It is the view of many of the non-labor restriction-maniacs. It is the reason which has dictated the provision in the pending immigration bills, applying the 2 per cent quota test on the basis of the number of persons of each nationality within the American borders in 1890. Why 1890? Because in 1890, nations of Catholic and Jewish heritage were not here in great numbers. They came later. And Catholicism and Judaism are "anti-American!"

This K. K. K. poison cannot be written into our restriction laws. If any test should be applied, it should be that of 1910. That was the last census year before the Great War. Such a test would not merely be fair to every nation and race. It would at the same time benefit those who need the blessings of immigration the most, so far as idealistic reasons are concerned. The Englishman, the German or the Scandinavian do not face problems of persecution, based on "heretical" ideas, so much as do men from Russia, Austria, Hungary and other southeastern European countries.

The "Backward Peoples"

So far, so good. There still remains the touchy question of inferior races. The "pure" Anglo-Saxon strain must not be injured by the bar sinister of the backward peoples. The German—denounced as a barbarian during the war—has now been restored to the grace of an "English-speaking nation." The Slav, Magyar, Italian and Jew are stamped, however, indelibly with the mark of "inferiority."

When we go through the Southland and see the low status—intellectual and economic—of the pure Anglo-Saxon "poor white trash," we cannot but wonder at this nice distinction. When we see the rapid strides made by these other (new immigrant) races—settled in the North—despite the language handicap, our wonder further grows. When we see how the "poor white" refuses persistently to join labor unions, and how readily the Southeastern European becomes a unionist, we cease to wonder—and merely say that the so-called "inferiority" stuff is pure and simple bunk. "There ain't no such animal."

That being the case, there is no good reason under the sun why the quota law should apply to the peoples here in 1890. There is every reason why it should apply to the numbers present in 1910.

There are other inhuman provisions in the proposed Johnson restriction bill that might easily be modified without injury to the American workmen. One can be mentioned as an example. The wives and children of resident aliens cannot be excepted from the proposed quota law; these can only come in after their husband and father has applied for citizenship. A wait of several years in Europe is involved in this impossible provision.

Aiding Immorality

It seems, unless there is some good argument to the contrary, that we should encourage the alien to bring his family here, if we are to let him in at all. There is, as a matter of fact, no good argument to the contrary. Immorality is pro-

moted by the present provision—and also instability on the part of the alien. Why—if the immigrant is to enter—should we break up his home life? "Restriction" certainly does not mean that sort of thing.

With the close of the World War, new sets of political refugees were developed in Europe. Anthony Caminetti, then Commissioner General of Immigration, pointed to this in his testimony before the United States Senate Committee on Immigration, in January, 1921. There are people, he said, "who find that with the formation of new boundaries their homes are now in countries that are racially alien to them. Sooner than subject themselves to the rule of their new governing authority they prefer to emigrate overseas."

This desire to escape to America is increased by the tyrannical methods used to dominate them, by the race in power. Even in countries, supposedly helped by the after-war division of territory, this thing is going on. The Croats, for example, are in revolt against their cousins, the Serbs. The latter, it is claimed, are carrying on an autocratic sway in the Jugo-Slav Kingdom. Some of the Croat leaders have found refuge and sympathy in England, just as many of the Hungarian Socialists have hurried to Austria, to get away from the fangs of the Horthy regime.

Some consideratieon, it does seem, should be given these political refugees. America, in the past, has never regretted the aid it gave Carl Schurz, Louis Kossuth and the other men of that type who fled to our shores.

These few points indicate that we can afford to blend some thought of the immigration in our restrictive measures. After all, it is only a matter of a few years, until he becomes a part of the "American workmen"—in turn to be protected. A quota law which takes into consideration religious, political and racial persecution; which protects the home life of the newcomer, and which exercises its right of test at European ports rather than here, can stand much better on its feet than the one proposed.

Those unions which favor a policy of this kind, also think that American Labor might well make a thorough study of this whole problem. No such study has as yet been made. A conference on immigration, in which all the different labor points of view could be represented, would do no harm. It might do much good.

Such a conference would not merely iron out inconsistencies in the "restriction at any terms" policy. It would also cause some change of view on the part of the "liberal" unions. There is no doubt that, at the present time, the members of these unions are not particularly over-anxious to bring into their own ranks the immigrants they ask to have allowed the right of entry. They do not exactly live up to their own ideals. They also do not, perhaps, wholly appreciate what the Mid-West Labor Movement has to face.

In the hurry and confusion of a large convention, like that of the American Federation of Labor, the detailed and careful study cannot be given this problem that could be devoted to it in a face-to-face assembly of interested unions. No matter what happens to the present proposals, this assembly should be held.

In brief, the American worker must be protected. But this need not be at the cost of inhuman treatment of the immigrant. The two ideas of restriction and a humane and just method of dealing with the newcomer do not conflict. It is the task of American Labor—standing not only for itself but for the workers of the world—to adjust this matter, and create a liberal protective program.

A CENTURY OF IMMIGRATION

CASTLE Garden and Ellis Island have become classic words throughout the world. As the doors through which the human birds of passage have come into America, they have become symbols of hope to millions who have never, and who will never, see them.

Up to 1890 the former station, now the Aquarium in New York City, was the receiving place for the oncomers from Europe. From thence on, Ellis Island became America's checking-up place on its residents-by-adoption.

Since the year 1820, the Bureau of Labor Statistics informs us, over 35,000,000 aliens have come to dwell among us. In 1896 for the first time, the "old immigration" from Northern and Western Europe gave way in numbers to the "new immigration" from Southern and Eastern Europe. Immigration comes at us in waves, rising and then receding. But always the new wave rose higher than the old until in 1907 the highest point of all was reached. In that year, over 1,285,000 newcomers crowded into our borders. In 1914 another big wave struck us—1,218,000 coming then.

The World War called a halt to this rush toward America. But at the close of the War, the movement began again. In the face of our huge unemployment crisis, 500,000 additional workers from Europe threw themselves into our labor market in one year. The tide was rising higher—and the 3 per cent quota law was invoked to shut it off, for a time. A new and more stringent law will shortly appear on our statute books, to replace that of the present.

In his zeal to check the immigration wave, Secretary of Labor Davis has not only recommended restriction of the most severe character. He has also devised an "alien code" to regulate the lives of aliens within our borders. As helpful as are some of the provisions of this code, it is on the whole a dangerous suggestion. It would put the incoming alien at the mercy of employing interests, through its check-up and "Americanization" features.

The Romance of Moving Peoples

THOSE who have read the Book of Books will recall how Josue, the son of Nun, led the Children of Israel into the Promised Land. They took possession of the place of milk and honey, destroying the cities thereof and killing their inhabitants.

That was one of the many migrations of peoples. As it was not the last, neither was it the first. The early history of Man is merely a haze of roaming tribes—seeking good pastures, a place to build fires, security from the elements and from their enemies. Restless man, looked at from a mountain top of history, has always been on the move.

Who can forget the account of the coming of the barbarians into the Roman Empire—as described, for example, by Guizot in his **"History of France"?** Into Gaul came the Franks, giving to the country its modern name. Into other parts of the empire flowed other barbarous peoples. "Nations countless in number and exceeding fierce," wrote St. Jerome, "have occupied all the Gauls." They followed no set course of action. Sometimes they would rush into the land, pillaging and ravaging, and rush out with equal speed, into the thickness of the German forests. Sometimes they would settle on territory they had captured and become part of the people. Sometimes they would make peace with the empire and become subject to it. Even in one case, a band of Franks wandered through the entire length of the country, roaming about at will, until they disappeared in Africa. Thus was the empire overflooded and destroyed.

But none of these ancient movements of peoples compared at all in numbers to the peaceful invasion of the United States, which has gone on during the last hundred years. Men and women of every creed and color—millions in number—have flowed steadily toward America from every corner of the globe. Religious and political persecution in their own countries drove them here in part; but the reason for their coming at all times was largely economic. First from the north of Europe, then from the center, then from the south and east, came the deluge. The yellow men, too, felt the urge—until the bars were put up against them.

America absorbed these millions, gave them a common language, and the American head and face in the second generation. But they presented America with a serious economic problem. The employing interests were quick to see the golden harvest that an overflowing labor market meant for them. The latest wave of this human ocean was used to strangle those that had come before. The sufferings and hardships of the incoming aliens have been set down in many a tale—a sad record of their disillusionment with their adopted land. But nothing has yet been written on the dramatic struggle that went on between one group of immigrants and another, and between American workmen and immigrants, for bread and the better things of life. We get a glimpse of it in the accounts of the "Molly Maguires"—written as a rule by detectives, entirely ignorant of the real problem.

Today, with the exception of a few individuals and a small section of the Jews, the driving force toward America is wholly economic. Our tradition as the land of refuge for the religiously and politically oppressed is now largely a myth.

Even with this the case, there would be but small arguments for the turning away of those that come to our shores—were American workmen better entrenched and more widely organized. As long as American Labor covers but a small percentage of the workers of the country, as long as it has such a fiercee battle for the securing of its most primitive rights—competition from abroad should be debarred.

For one cause or another, restriction of immigration has become more and more severe. First, the paupers and insane and physically defective were denied admittance. Then the yellow man was shut out. Finally, restriction was made so intense that only a small portion of the people of each country have been allowed within our gates. That is the present situation—and the coming change, it is safe to prophecy, will be in the direction of further limitation.

The reasons for this are many. They range from the Ku Klux Klan doctrine that white Protestantism is the only Americanism pure and undefiled, to the claim of the American Federation of Labor, that the newcomers break the backbone of the workers already here. The last is, of course, the only argument worthy of consideration. No "pure" race exists under the sun, and we have gone too far toward intermixture already, for any "pure" race to be dreamed of in America. But the child labor, poorer standards of living, lowered wages and ineffective organization that follow from continual immigration is another story. A Bird's-eye view of Bethlehem, Pa., Pittsburgh, or Perth Amboy, N. J.—to which the newcomers flock—discloses a vision of what all this means. The immigrant is little benefited by the change and the American worker injured.

It is these results—inescapable and compelling—that have put the American workers on record strongly for an erection of the bars against further alien invasion.

Battle Of Giants Over Super Power

Farmers and Workers vs. the Electrical Interests

By CHARLES K. MOHLER

LOS ANGELES has municipal ownership of both water and electric service. Both of these services in San Francisco are furnished by private companies under regulation.

If the water service of Los Angeles had cost its citizens the same rates as were paid in San Francisco, this bill would have been $7,000,000 more than it was, while the electric bill would have been $5,000,000 more in one year.

This total difference in rates of $12,000,000 between municipal and private service cost, is more than the taxes collected for municipal purposes in Los Angeles in one year. That city, in other words, saves more than its total taxes by reason of having public ownership of its electric and water systems.

This was the report made by Mr. Ralph Criswell, member of the Los Angeles City Council, in his address before the Washington Conference on National Super-power on January 17th.

Yet, we are submerged at the present time in a flood of propaganda, claiming that public ownership and operation are failures. This propaganda arises from the fears of the private combines that their day may be waning, coupled with their desire to put over further seizures of our natural resources.

When the city of Los Angeles began operating its hydro-electric plant in 1917, it did not have distribution lines enough in the city to dispose of all of the current produced. It accordingly, made a contract with the Southern California Edison Co. to take the surplus current, the price to be fixed by the State Railroad Commission. The price fixed for the City's current was 6½ mills per K. W. H. (kilowat hour). Later the City purchased the distributing system of the company in the city. The conditions were then reversed and the city does not now have sufficient power to serve all its customers, so it is now buying wholesale current from the Southern California Edison Co. The rates which the city now pays are also fixed by the Railroad Commission. The rates do not give the city an even break, however, as the city has to pay the company 12 mills per K. W. H., nearly 85 per cent higher—or almost double what the city got for current sold the company. It is in spite of this handicap to part of its service that the city is making its handsome profit. It also shows that the Railroad Commission—for one reason or another—recognizes that private operation and sale of public services must cost much more than public operation of such services.

In certain parts of the city, it is interesting to know, there is competition between the city and private companies. In that territory, the private company rates are the same as the city's rates. Where city service is not yet available, the company rates are maintained ½ cent higher than in the competitive territory.

Why Not Do This in the U. S. A.?

You have already been treated—in the November issue of this publication—to an interesting picture of the Ontario Hydro-Electric development. Let us take another dollar-and-cent snapshot of it, for the sake of a checkup on what might be done, also, on this side of the border.

The Province of Ontario has the greatest super-power system in the world and it is a government undertaking. The Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario made its first contract in 1908, providing for the purchase from a private company of 100,000 hp. The Commission has since that time purchased and constructed power plants until it now has a system with the aggregate capacity of about 1,000,000 hp. In addition to the tie-in, extension and unification of its service, it has made radical reductions in rates.

Before the Commission began service, the net cost per K. W. H. in Toronto was over 12 cents. In 1920, under public ownership, the rates were 2.2 cents. During the period of 1908 to 1920, it is estimated that the lowered rates of the Commission amounted to a total saving to the patrons of over $58,000,000.

There are over $200,000,000 invested in the undertaking; over 300 cities and townships are served from 10 different hydro-electric systems. There are over 3,000 miles of transmission lines, over which current is carried in some cases as far as 250 miles. This is the accomplishment of our neighbor.

PROPOSED RESERVOIR SITE AT BOULDER CANYON

Los Angeles Plans to Add to Its Electric Power by a Big Dam Here

It was these sound dollar-and-cent reasons for collective ownership of the coming super-power system, in the interest of all at cost, that led the Public Ownership League to call the Washington Conference of January 16th and 17th. At this conference a movement was begun to secure nation-wide development and distribution of electrical power as a government undertaking.

The League prepared a bill, which will be introduced in Congress by Senator George Norris of Nebraska. Around it must rally the combined farmer and worker forces of the country. The American Federation of Labor at its Portland convention unanimously put itself on record in favor of a move of this sort. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—the union in this industry—are strongly interested, President J. P. Noonan being one of the outstanding champions of the bill and a member of the committee pushing it.

What does the bill cover, in a nutshell? In the main, it provides for the following important items for the public good:

(1) The creation of a Federal Service Commission consisting of three members to serve during life or good behavior, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Members may be removed for cause by the President with the consent of the Senate or by concurrent resolution of the Senate and House; provision is made for the necessary technical assistants and the equipment for carrying out the work intended for the Commission. (2) That the Commission and its employes shall be removed as far as possible from the influence of spoils politics. (3) That the Commission shall take over the functions and duties now performed by the Federal Power Commission and make all necessary investigations and reports in reference to lands, streams, coal, oil, gas or other sources of power that may be employed in the production of electrical energy or power and withdraw from entry or use, any of the lands or other resources now under federal control, that may be useful to the Commission in the carrying out of projects. (4) That in the development of electrical power or energy, there shall be co-operation between other government agencies and the departments and the Commission for the co-ordination of flood control and reclamation service.

Develop Muscle Shoals

(5) That the Commission take over and complete at once the Muscle Shoals project of the Tennessee River in Alabama. (6) That it proceed at once with the location of the so-called Boulder Canyon Dam in the Colorado River, to afford flood protection for the Imperial Valley, additional irrigation water and electrical power production. (7) That it may purchase, construct or acquire electric energy producing and distributing plants and equipment of whatever character for the production and distribution of electric energy and power. (8) That it shall

manufacture nitrate and other fertilizers for agricultural use at cost and have power to regulate the price of fertilizer which may be made in whole or in part from elements manufactured by the Commission, or which may be produced by power developed by the Commission and sold to manufacturers of fertilizer. (9) That it may make any or all necessary contracts, purchases or sales, of whatever nature, for carrying on its work. (10) That it may assist and co-operate with any of the states and cities in the purchase and development of electric power plants and the distribution of electrical power or energy. That it may accept special assessment bonds levied by states and municipalities or other state agencies in payment for work done or money expended by the Commission in behalf of such state or state agency. (11) That it shall manufacture nitrate or other material for explosives for the United States navy and army at cost. (12) That $500,000,000 bonds of the government be issued and sold to create a revolving fund for the commission to carry on its work.

Saving the Farmers

Though it is not generally appreciated, the need for cheap fertilizer for agricultural use is becoming very important. There are a great number of abandoned farms in the east and soil exhaustion is gradually moving westward. With the high price of land in the central west, the farmer cannot make both ends meet, let alone make a profit without high production. Commercial fertilizers are now excessively high priced.

Abandoned farms cannot be brought back into use, or high production maintained on the central western farms, without an abundance of cheap fertilizer. Apparently the monopoly control of commercial fertilizer is such that there is practically no hope of relief from excessive costs without the federal government undertaking the production.

In a recent hearing before the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives ("Nitrate," p. 11), the profit of the American Agricultural Chemical Co. on $100 of investment during five years was shown to be in round figures: 1916—30%; 1917—31%; 1918—47%; 1919—19%, and in 1920—18%. In 1918, the average cost per ton was about $18.20, while in 1919 it rose to $34.50, an increase of 118%. This is not all. The farmer must pay high freight rates on commercial fertilizer, 1,760 pounds of which out of every ton purchased is bulk without any value whatever. It is estimated that about 40% of the cost of commercial fertilizer is freight charges.

Can we expect the best results from private ownership and operation in the production of electric energy?

There has been considerable agitation in favor of turning Muscle Shoals over to Henry Ford on his offer to develop the hydro-electric energy and manufacture fertilizer for agricultural purposes. It is understood that Mr. Ford asks a profit of 8% on the production of the fertilizer he would market. The United States government can borrow money at from 3½% to 4½%. Two per cent is paid on postal savings and on some government bonds.

Mr. Ford's Expected Profit

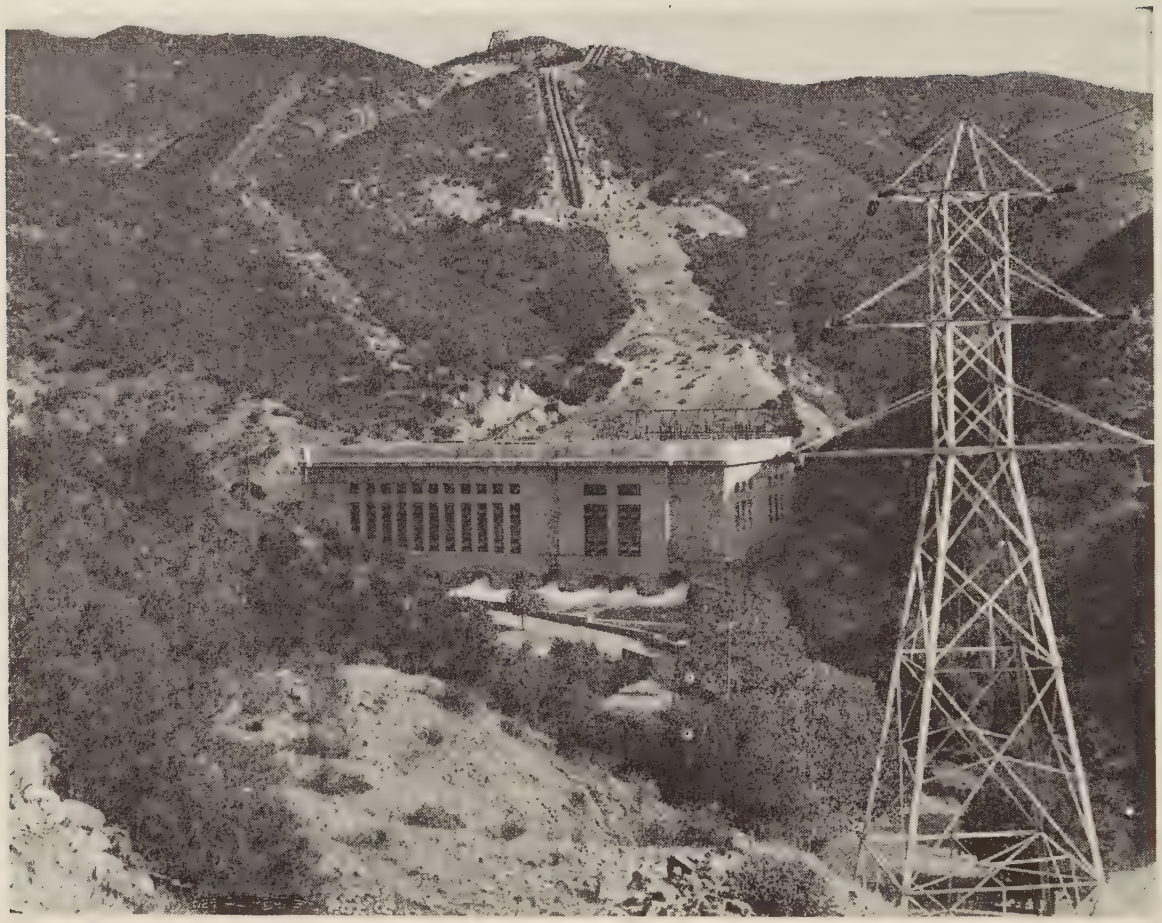
It is stated on what appears to be good authority (Gano Dunn, Pres. of J. G. White Engineering Corporation, and Gen. Guy E. Tripp, Chairman of the Board of Westinghouse Electric Manufacturing Co., "Nitrate," pp. 30 and 34) that about 80% of the cost of electric energy produced by water power is represented by the interest charge on the capital invested. If Mr. Ford asks 8% profit on the fertilizer produced, it is then a fair guess that he will want at least 8% return on his investment.

If these propositions are correct, then the comparative cost per K. W. H. for hydro-electric power may be stated as follows: Operating expense, administration, depreciation, taxes, etc., ¼ of the total cost of production. Interest charges ¾ of the cost under private ownership and production. Under government ownership, the interest charge will be about one-half of the investment return claimed for private ownership, or three-eighths of the total cost. **In other words, three-eighths of the total cost of production would be done away with at once by the reduction on capital or interest charge under public ownership. If under private ownership the cost was one cent per K. W. H., then under public ownership the cost should be ⅝ of one cent.** This would mean a saving of nearly 40% for one item alone. This fact is of the utmost importance and should not be forgotten.

Savings Through Railway Electrification

Not merely will the fullest development of hydro-electric power for the service of the people come from an interconnected superpower system. The development of steam (or other fuel) electrical production plants at the mines or wells, so that the whole may be unified into a complete service system as a government undertaking at cost, will also result.

It is estimated that about 25% of the consumption of coal on the railroads is for hauling coal to be burned in the locomotives of the roads. It



HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANT NO. 1—LOS ANGELES

is also estimated that electrification of the railroads would increase their efficiency and capacity nearly 50% (longer trains also, elimination of their own fuel haul). Would it not be more sensible in at least many cases, to transport the electric energy over wires than to transport coal in cars over rails and through congested city terminals to be burned in the already smoke-and-dust laden air of crowded dwelling places?

The by-products of the coal could be recovered at the mines before it is used to produce electric energy, and the gas could in most cases be piped into the cities.

The Washington Conference

The different phases of superpower production and distribution as government undertakings were discussed at the recent Washington Conference.

Sen. Norris gave the chief address. He spoke of the advantage to be derived by the government developing the Muscle Shoals and Boulder Canyon projects. He made a strong point of the fact that in letting water power run to waste that might be developed and used, we are requiring human beings to toil and sweat at a most uninspiring occupation, the digging of coal, at the same time we are burdening our transportation systems to haul it into the centers of population. He called attention to the waste of unused water power in the Potomac River at the threshold of the Capital.

The following committee was appointed to cooperate with Senator Norris and others in Congress, in the final draft of the measure and to assist towards its passage: Rev. John A. Ryan, Chairman; Senator Norris, James P. Noonan, Charles Edward Russell, Benjamin C. Marsh, Miss Jennie Buel of the Michigan State Grange, Charles K. Mohler and Edward Keating, Editor of **Labor.** The committee had a meeting at the Hotel Hamilton on the day following the Conference, to begin the drive for Superpower—owned for the people and operated solely for their benefit.

Warring Against War

ONE of the first acts of J. Ramsay MacDonald, as Premier of Great Britain, was the halting of the plans for the big naval base at Singapore. Another was the release of Mahatmi Gandhi, the Indian "saint" and champion of the handicraft system.

Both acts were appropriate. A Labor Government can no more think of carrying out imperialistic programs than of holding men as political prisoners. Much less could a Government headed by a man like MacDonald—who had suffered for his anti-war principles—harbor for a moment any scheme making for jingoism or intolerance.

In the coming into power of British Labor, Europe sees more than merely these negative steps toward Peace. The Labor Party's foreign policy is largely that of the Union of Democratic Control, to which many of the Party members belong. This union, during the war and after, fought for free speech and a just peace. Realizing the weaknesses of the League of Nations, the Labor Party hopes to make it a real league of peoples. It means to scrap, as far as possible, the unjust Treaty of Versailles. What is more important, the Party is a member of the Socialist International, which has a definite peace policy of its own.

Along with the British trade union movement, the Labor Party took an active part in the World Peace Congress, held at The Hague, in December, 1922. This Congress went on record for the teaching of pacifism in the public schools and for the spread of all educational agencies which would make against war. It called upon members of Parliament and intellectual workers in general to associate themselves with the movement against War and "for the organization of Peace." At the instance of the French and Belgium labor movements, it condemned the occupation of the Ruhr.

But it went even farther than that. It pledged the trade unions of Europe to a general strike, in case of another war threat—such a strike to be carried on under the direction of the International Federation of Trade Unions. It pledged the labor parties to resistance to militarism and armaments, to public control over the armaments industry, to the change of war industries to peace industries, and to the abolition of secret diplomacy.

This, in the rough, plus the admission of Germany and Russia to the League of Nations, will be the foundation for the foreign activities of the present British Cabinet. It will scarcely forget the ringing declaration of The Hague Conference: "It is the duty of the workers in all countries to carry on the war against war and against every cause of war, using every means, direct and indirect, inside and outside Parliament." As already indicated in its declarations, the Party will have before it that Congress' statement of the final goal: "World Peace can only be finally established when the present system of capitalist production, which is based on the idea of personal gain, is replaced by a system of production which shall serve the needs and interest of mankind in general."

While the Labor Government is working out, step by step, the path that leads to peace, on the basis of these ideas, another move is on foot in Britain of almost equal interest. It is the suggestion that a new World Conference be called, to consider the whole reparations problem. The inspiration for the move is the letter by General Smuts, of the South African Union, in the London Times of November 15, 1923. In this letter, General Smuts declares that such a conference should be called. It should consider not only Germany's total reparation liability, but also the measures and means for putting Germany's finances in order, so that she may again stand on her feet.

The question is, he said, "Whether Germany shall live or become a gaping wound in the body of Western civilization."

Just how far this movement has gone in Britain is somewhat difficult to say. Perhaps it is safer to state that it is just being born. Leading Laborites and friends of Labor have given it their sanction. Its interest to the American Labor Movemen lies in the fact that it contemplates an appeal to the organized workers of this country to join with their British brothers in seeing that this conference is called.

The appeal has not yet come from across the Atlantic. But it may be expected at any time. If it does come, American Labor—in a powerful and strategic position—may be able to play a decisive part in a peaceful solution of Europe's present troubles. But few signs of hope can be expected from across the waters, within the Labor Movement or without, until some such solution is hit upon. That is the first step toward Peace —in the war against war.

Drawn by J. F. Anderson of the Machinists for LABOR AGE

"IN A HELL OF A FIX"

"La Follette for President!"

Demand of the Northwest Farmer-Labor Press---The C. P. P. A. at St. Louis

POURING oil on the troubled waters has not the same effect as of yore. Then it produced quietude and peace. Now it brings forth turmoil, toil and trouble—for the politicians.

"Under the picturesque name of the Teapot Dome case," the oil scandal will "take its place among the darkest chapters in the annals of the country," even the **New York Times** admits. The steals of Teapot Dome and Elk Hills from the United States Naval Reserve "cast a broad shadow" over the land, involving the politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties. They show that cabinet officers or ex-cabinet officers were bought up "at so much per head," by being put on the big oil companies' payrolls. And the end of the revelations is not yet—unless the stench becomes so great that both parties try to suppress it.

Out of this putrid situation there has arisen, stronger and stronger, the demand that Robert M. La Follette run for the Presidency on a Third Party ticket. This would be, of course, the Farmer-Labor Party. There is a recognition everywhere that there is "no oil on him." There is an appreciation of the fight he has made all through his career against "Monopoly."

The **Minnesota Union Advocate,** organ of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, has repeatedly declared that La Follette is the logical candidate of a Farmer-Labor alliance. In its last issue in January it reiterates this statement. "We want this to be a winning compaign," it says, "and if we are patient and forbearing we have a chance to sweep the nation. It is necessary to have an outstanding figure like La Follette to lead in such a tremendous undertaking."

The **Milwaukee Leader,** daily of the Wisconsin Socialists—interestingly enough—also shares this view. "Congressman Victor L. Berger," it says, "in a written statement, pointed out that the Teapot Dome scandal, which proved that a majority of the members of Harding's cabinet have accepted bribes to betray the country, furnished an ideal foundation for a third party movement similar to the British Labor Party and that Senator Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin was facing the most important decision of his life." It also makes this further comment: "Congressman Berger pointed out that this was the last year La Follette could run for the presidency because of his age and that a golden opportunity for becoming the founder of an important American party now presents itself."

The **Madison Capital Times,** staunch supporter of La Follette and of the Farmer-Labor movement, adds its voice to this demand. Let it speak for itself:

> "If the people of this country have an opportunity to vote for La Follette for President today he would sweep the country. The country is ready for a third party. The new revelations in the national oil scandal only serve to show that both of the old parties are owned by the public plunderers and looters. Did not Harry Sinclair make big contributions to both of the old parties?
>
> "The whole mess ought to show the people how completely the country is being robbed and pillaged by the skulking interests that name Presidents, courts and members of our legislative bodies. If the old parties nominate reactionaries, as they will do, there will be a demand for a new deal that cannot be ignored.
>
> "We hope that the people will have an opportunity to vote for La Follette for President this fall."

As if in anticipation of its own probable stand on this question, the **Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal** carries as its January frontispiece a new photograph of "Fighting Bob." Below it appear words which he has uttered in his fine career, declaring that the "real cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy." It further carries a leading article by Laurence Todd, with this tribute to the great Wisconsin leader:

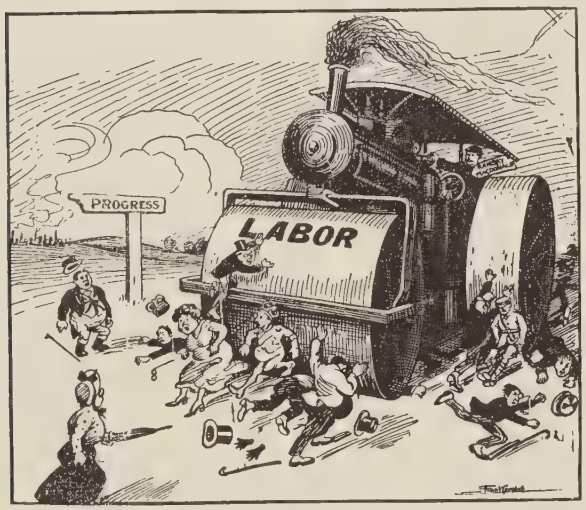
> "La Follette, the veteran leader of progressivism in the Senate, has been ill at home. He has spoken to his friends only indirectly, and the contribution of his courage, resourcefulness and sound judgment in the parliamentary battle on the floor has been lacking. His seat in the front row on the middle aisle has remained vacant, the sight of his glacial blue eyes, smiling from an unforgettably strong and kindly face, has failed the visitors and the new members who anticipated his inspiration. Perhaps before these lines are in print he will be back, alert and active—the best loved and most feared man who has sat in Congress in his generation."

In sizing up the other candidates—or rather, "the" candidates, for La Follette is not yet in the race—this journal also indicates that McAdoo has not satisfied the rail unions in his attitude on railroad ownership. "Mr. McAdoo's fair treatment of railroad employes during his administration is distinctly in his favor," it comments. "At the same time he has made no public statement

that he stands for government ownership of the railroads or the Plumb Plan or any other fundamental method of reforming railroad control." It states that "it awaits a definite statement from Mr. McAdoo on this important issue."

This stand was taken before McAdoo had been linked up with the oil companies, through Doheny's testimony. The fact that he served as counsel for the Doheny interests at $250,000, even when in the Presidential race, is almost a knock-out blow to his chances. It will be taken advantage of to the fullest measure by his opponents, both within and without the Democratic party. This is the almost unanimous opinion of newspapers of all shades of economic and political belief throughout the country.

At this interesting moment, the Conference for Progressive Political Action meets in St. Louis.



Australian Worker

THE STEAMROLLER

One Appraisal of British Labor In Action on the Political Field

The date is February 11th. The Conference, which brought the rail unions into the political battlefield, has shown what a powerful force those unions can be, when they get into action. The convention call points to the fact that "the campaign of 1922 proved its worth. The remainder of the task is to be completed in the 1924 campaign, when the courts will be purged and Congress filled with men of courage and character."

Although the C. P. P. A. is non-partisan in character, it can easily throw its influence behind a third party, if such should be in the running. It did this in Minnesota in 1922 and 1923. Of the men now in the race, McAdoo has been, of course, the choice of the rail unions. His speech at San Francisco, to the anniversary meeting of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, has only cemented that friendship. But La Follette stands equally high with them, their champion on many a Congressional battlefield. La Follette is also perhaps the man in public life who stands closer to the American Federation of Labor than any other. In the January **American Federationist** his greeting to the men of labor is given the place of honor. With the farmers no one stands as high. All through the West the name of La Follette has been a "sign in the heavens" for the producers on the soil. As witness the recent resolution of the Iowa farmers that he was their national leader, back of whom they would stand to the last ditch.

The work of the C. P. P. A. at St. Louis will, therefore, be watched with particular interest by the Organized Farmers and Organized Labor all over the country.

The British Labor Party victory has done much to give impetus to the third party movement here. **La Follette's Magazine** significantly says: "We have much to learn in the United States from the history of the Labor Party and we can derive inspiration from its rise to power." **Labor,** organ of the rail unions, carries a cartoon on its front page, with MacDonald at the helm of the British ship of state. It also comments on the interesting fact that he will now write the King's speech, and expresses the belief that the Labor Party will be able to meet all the big problems now confronting it.

The **Illinois Miner** gives us this picture of the change:

"On the same day on which Lenine, the first labor premier of Russia, went to his home in the great unknown, Ramsay MacDonald became the first labor premier of Great Britain. MacDonald did not come among the havocs of revolution. For England, the mother of political democracy, is old and experienced in the art of shifting scenes. MacDonald is also a brave soldier of liberty; but he fought his battles in the kinder environment of British democracy and even there he risked his life at times."

And it adds: May our prayer be, "that the rising of the fourth estate may everywhere follow the print of the Englishman."

Thus goes the battle. The **Christian Science Monitor** reports that a meeting of insurgent members of Congress has just been held, to back La Follette for the Presidency. They have answered the questions: "Can he win? Can money be raised for his campaign?" in the affirmative.

The only cloud on the horizon at the present, so far as the third party movement is concerned, is the rumpus the Communists are making. By some means or other, they were received into the preliminary conference in the Twin Cities, which arranged for the convention on May 30th. Since then there has been some question as to whether the convention should not be held a bit later, for the best effect. The **Daily Worker** has taken advantage of this to fire a broadside attack on Johnson, Shipstead, La Follette and every "Progressive" in Congress likely to be connected with the Farmer-Labor Party, if launched. Calling them "middle class politicians," it has charged that they are trying to "sabotage" a real party of the workers and farmers. All of which sounds like Communist tactics all over the Western world.

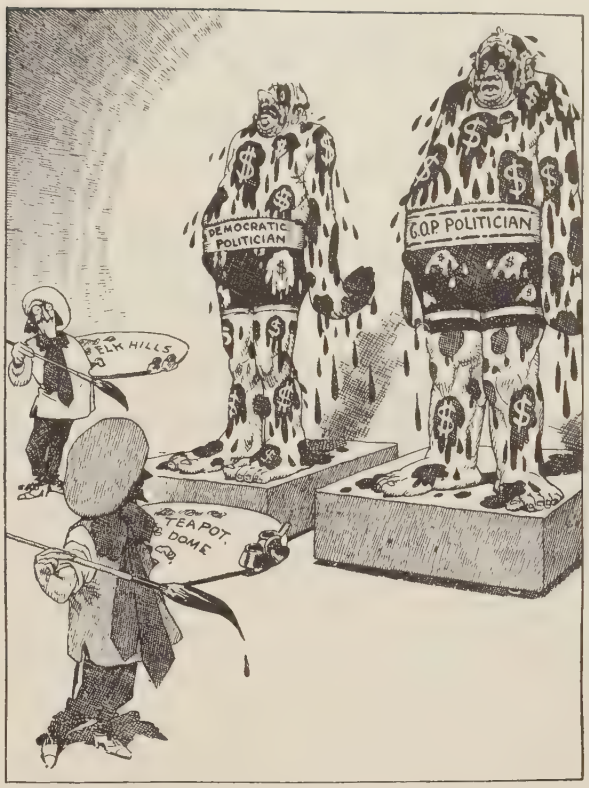
Meanwhile, the pot is boiling. And when a pot boils, something always happens.

The Committee of 48, for instance, jumps into the fray—through its National Bureau of Information and Education. In order to arouse interest among the Labor and Progressive forces in the coming convention and the Third Party move, it has devised a presidential Referendum, sent out to the newspapers and magazines of the country. A copy of this referendum is printed on page 28, and can be sent in to the Bureau by any one interested in expressing his or her opinion upon the matter.

It is also interesting to note that the **Wyoming Labor Journal** emphasizes the fact that the Farmer-Labor forces must not merely attack the negative side of the present national mess in the approaching election, but must also present to the farmers and workers a constructive program. In the coming "crusade for exposure of political rottenness," it says, the great issue of rancher and worker against the railroads and other interests must not be forgotten. That is "the" issue.

There should not be too much worry, either, it thinks, among the men leading the new alliance as to how much of a campaign fund is needed to elect a desirable and progressive ticket. There is much truth, of course, in Mr. Dombey's answer to his son: "Money, my son, can do everything." "However, Magnus Johnson and other independents have run their campaign on 'buttermilk' and with small contributions from their adherents." The same can be done on a national scale.

That Senator LaFollette himself has not forgotten the warning of the Wyoming paper is shown by his new bill in Congress, to establish rate making on the railroads on a service-at-cost



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DONE IN OIL

As the "N. Y. American" sees the oil scandal. Furnishing some reasons for a Third Party

basis. Of course, the Senator knows full well that this is merely a momentary measure of relief. In introducing the bill, he makes this instructive statement: "It is high time that we required the private operators of the railroads to fulfill the same obligations that would be imposed upon public officials if there were public operation of this essential public service." It is high time that the private operators of the railroads cease to function, the Farmer-Labor forces are increasingly saying, and turn their roads over to public operation of this essential service. So declared Senator Magnus Johnson in the last issue of **LABOR AGE.** So may we expect LaFollette himself to say, in appealing to the country on a Farmer-Labor ticket.

Likewise, adds the **Minnesota Union Advocate,** let us "Beware lest the politicians of the two old parties befog the oil issue itself with personalities, and let the real crooks escape!" In other words, the oil leases must be taken back from Doheny and Sinclair. "Remember the tea in the te pot and not the cooks alone!" And it is La Follette, among all of our outstanding public men, who can do this thing the best—and protect all of our natural resources from the hands of the looter.

The Pennsylvania: "Road of Death"

Exhibiting a "Company Union" in Full Flower

By CHARLES KUTZ

SAM WELLER, Dickens' famous hero, tells somewhere in "Pickwick Papers" of a man who cut his son's head off to cure the said son of the squints.

"General" W. W. Atterbury, "Vice-President in charge of operation" of the Pennsylvania Railroad System, has been guilty of much the same sort of operation. In order to secure "co-operation of men and management," he has cut off the only chance of any such co-operation, and at the same time has severed the jugular vein of the Pennsylvania itself. The whole life blood of our present privately-owned railroads is profit, and Atterbury has cut deep into the possible profits of that widely-flung system.

At the same time, he has established a record for deaths and maimings through accidents that, if it continues at the present rate, will finally put the World War to shame.

In the January issue of "System"—the "magazine of Business"—the "General" draws a beautiful picture of the peace and contentment existing among the Pennsylvania employes. But he conveniently forgets all the important details. He forgets to tell about the suit now pending in the United States District Court of Eastern Pennsylvania against his road, filed by that road's employes. He forgets to give the ghastly list of deaths and accidents on the system, since it decided to fight its organized workers, and ignore the U. S. Railroad Labor Board. He forgets to tell of how his locomotives and other rolling stock have been allowed to run down, as a result of the loss of the Pennsylvania's best mechanics.

That story which he overlooks—the real story, taken from official records—is an exhibit, complete and convincing, of a "company union" in full flower.

Boycott Not Necessary

Some few days ago in Philadelphia, Atterbury sang a different song. It was at a meeting of business men. Within this small circle, among men who knew the serious break-down of the Pennsylvania system, Atterbury admitted things were not going well. "The bad condition of our road," he whined, "is due to a boycott by the A. F. of L. unions, and sabotage." Yes, sabotage—by Mr. Atterbury himself on the public and the workers.

It is not necessary for the A. F. of L. unions to boycott the Pennsylvania. After all, the shippers and passengers whom the A. F. of L. unions can reach are but a small part of the traffic. Shippers know, however, when their goods are not delivered. And passengers are not particularly keen to risk their lives on a defectively-equipped road, in order to help pay Mr. Atterbury's salary.

At Indianapolis, on January 12, excess fare train No. 31 was held up by the Federal inspectors and prevented from continuing its trip. The locomotive of this express was found to be defective. The action was recited in big headlines in the papers of Pittsburg—home of the Pennsylvania system—whose editors and reporters are evidently "unaware" that an equally serious situation could be found within a hop, skip and jump of their city, at the Pitcairn engine house. There the inspectors have practically everything tied up.

The Pennsylvania officials know very well that these locomotives are in no condition for service. At the same time that the express train was tied up—four other trains were given similar treatment at Indianapolis, Nos. 21, 109, 427 and 20. Everywhere on the system delays are becoming more and more frequent. The daily total of delays to Columbus Division trains only, departing from and arriving at the Columbus (Ohio) Union Station during the week of December 18th to 24th, inclusive, were as follows:

Dec.	18	11	hours	25	minutes
"	19	19	"	40	"
"	20	18	"	00	"
"	21	32	"	45	"
"	22	24	"	50	"
"	23	35	"	30	"
"	24	16	"	00	"
Total		158	hours	10	minutes

Over 75% of Locomotives Defective

The gradual suicide of the Pennsylvania, in its effort to destroy the unions of its workers, is eloquently pictured in the official reports of locomo-

tive inspections during 1922 and 1923. Of 2501 locomotives inspected during the six months of January to June, 1922, 56 per cent were found defective. Then, on July 1, 1922 the shopmen's strike occurred. On the Pennsylvania, the strike was the answer of the men to the autocratic effort of the road to destroy their organizations—an effort carried on more persistently here than on any other road.

What was the result? From July to December of that year, inclusive, 71 per cent of the 2,576 locomotives examined were defective. For 1923 the case is even worse. Of 3,655 locomotives inspected from January to August, inclusive, the defectives ran up to 77 per cent. But more fatal than this to safe and decent service was the fact that the number of locomotives in storage, for relief and emergency purposes, fell from 619 freight and 76 passenger locomotives in January, 1922, to no freight and 1 passenger locomotive in December of that year.

This means something very definite in accidents and deaths. Of late the Pennsylvania resembles a field of battle, with a casualty list as bloody and lengthy as many military engagements. "The Shambles" might be a good name for it to adopt, as a result of its unique record in killing and injuring passengers and workers. Let us look at the figure of the United States Bureau of Statistics. They will give us the picture. For the quarter year ending March 31, 1922, 93 persons were killed and 4,055 injured on the Pennsylvania from all causes, and in the quarter ending June 30 of that year, the totals ran 89 killed and 4,830 injured.

"The Road of Death"

Then, came the strike. In the next two quarters, the figures rose to 190 killed and 5,317 injured (ending September 30), and 206 killed and 6,285 injured (ending December 31). In 1923 the killings and injuries have steadily mounted upward, exceeding the figures for 1922. Can it be wondered that salesmen and other travelers, reading these records, avoid riding on Mr. Atterbury's "Road of Death"?

Freight shipments have been treated as roughly. So harmful and frequent have become the delays that shippers have been forced to go into courts to get satisfaction from the badly-mangled road. H. Muller & Co., of Baltimore, for instance, have just filed such a suit, claiming $100,000 damages because of delay in the transportation of wheat from Buffalo, N. Y., to their city. Carloads of ore and other products dumped for weeks and waiting in vain for shipment via the Pennsylvania are common scenes. While, in comparison, on the Baltimore & Ohio—at peace with its union shopmen—traffic is moving forward smoothly and with expedition.

Thus, to this pass has the Pennsylvania been brought by the conspiracy of its officials to deprive its men in the shop crafts of a union of their own choice, and to bestow on them a company union of its own. This conspiracy will soon have an airing in the courts. System Federation No. 90 of the Railroad Shop Crafts has applied for an injunction to prevent the company union officials from acting for the Pennsylvania's employes, and for a payment of the wages withheld from the "furloughed" shop workers of the company. Such wages will total about $15,000,000.

It must be remembered that the company conspiracy against its men arose over a year before the nation-wide shopmen's strike. About May 1, 1921, President Samuel Rea, Atterbury and the other officers concocted a scheme, to defeat the wishes of their men and foist the company union on them. They did this in face of the fact that the Railroad Labor Board, acting under the Transportation Act, had devised a fair and legal means of gaining the men's decision as to what organization they wished to represent them.

3,000 vs. 37,000

Under the Pennsylvania plan, only men actually in company employ at the time of vote were to be allowed to express their choice. Some 30,000 employes out on temporary furloughs were debarred from voting. There was no opportunity given for the men to vote for or against System No. 90 as their representative. They were merely to vote for individuals, and the voting units were so divided up that the workers would not be able to present any united front to the employers. The ballots were to be returnable to the Pennsylvania general offices. Realizing that the cards were designedly stacked against them, the System Federation instructed its members not to vote in this company-devised "election."

The result was a frost, a hoax of the worst sort. Under the Pennsylvania's own conditions of eligibility for voting, 33,104 men had the right to vote. Of these, only 5,236 cast ballots. But 3,480 of these were for the company union candidates; while 767 put in ballots for the System, and 742 were blanks. So the company reported. Less than

10 per cent of the employes, therefore, voted for the Rea-Atterbury scheme.

The legitimate unions then prepared their own ballots and held an election of their own on the question. Both men employed and men on furlough voted. Contrast the result with the company "election." In the System Federation's vote, 37,245 men cast ballots. Of these, all but 7 voted in favor of the System Federation. That gives the correct proportion of the sentiments of the men on this matter. Over 90 per cent are for the System Federation.

In spite of this result, the Railroad proceeded to form its company "unions," in accordance with the plan devised. The men were now "represented" by men whose salaries were paid by the company. They had no expert assistance in working out wage schedules or in remedying conditions. They could not employ legal advice. Their "representatives" could not travel over the system, to learn what was happening and know what to do for the best interests of the workers. They were completely at the mercy of the company. This is shown clearly today, if there was ever any doubt about it, by the arbitrary discharges which the road is making of its employes—in defiance of the Railroad Labor Board. Even some of the "loyal" workers are feeling the axe.

"Any Way We See Fit"

The whole policy of the road in regard to labor is laid down by its attorney, Seneff, before the Labor Board. "It has always been our position," says the Pennsylvania's representative, "and is yet under Section 301 that we had a right to deal with our employes in any manner we saw fit." "Our position," he continues, "is that the railroad company must alone be the judge (of whom it shall discharge). Our contention is that anything relating to discipline is a managerial question, and any attempt on the part of any regulating body, the Labor Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission, or the courts, if you please, any attempt for them to tell us whom we shall employ, when we shall employ, when we shall discharge, when we shall not discharge, is such an invasion of the domain of management as to be an impingement upon our constitutional and legal rights."

Such defiant language may sound fine to the ears of autocratic railroad barons. But it simply does not work. The high cost of strike-breaking on a railroad is ruinous. The best mechanics, being free men, will refuse to surrender to railroad

THE GAZETTE TIMES.
PITTSBURGH'S ONE BIG NEWSPAPER

REFUSAL TO RAID DISTILLERY BROUGHT M'INTOSH SUSPENSION, POLICE HEAD SAYS

ORDERS UNHEEDED BROPHY CHARGES

P.R.R. Trains Delayed, Engines Held Unsafe By Inspectors

FIRE FEAR QUELLED THEATER

COUNCIL SETS ORDINANCE PROHIBITING SCREENS ON WINDOWS OF BARROOMS

MAGEE NEITHER DAWES WARNS TO APPROVE NOR OF DISASTER TO

REBELS BLOCKADE TAMPICO

IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED TO EASE TRAFFIC

EXHIBIT ONE

Against the Pennsylvania

The marked item tells the tale of the Unsafe Express (extra fare) train, which the "Pennsy" tried to run. More and more trains are being held up in this fashion. In contrast with this serious situation, the unionized Baltimore and Ohio has improved immensely the condition of its locomotives.

peonage, at the beck and call of Mr. Atterbury. The Pennsylvania's financial history of late indicates that. Look at these figures: For the seven months of 1923 ending with July, one finds that net income of the road had increased only $2,441,-694 over the same period in 1922. But the cost of maintaining equipment had gone up $22,659,232 over the previous year—an enormous increase. Even with this staggering expense, as we have seen, the road continues to deteriorate, and has been operating with locomotives 75 per cent of which are defective, since the shopmen's strike.

To these facts, Mr. Atterbury replies with platitudes; in other words, with plain "Hot Air." "The secret of our success," writes he, "has been that we have found faith in each other, that is being justified more and more as time goes on." "Success"!—in an unapproachable record of accidents and killings, in the top-notch record for defective equipment, in a huge cost of maintenance of equipment, in suits by shippers and employes harassing the road. This, according to the "General," is success.

The "public" and workers know otherwise—and so does the "General," too, when not writing for publication. He knows that the Baltimore & Ohio is gradually taking away his trade through superior service, service based on recognition of the unions desired by its men. He knows that his company "union" has proved a fizzle. But he is stubborn—and Autocrats have been stubborn before, to their own rout and ruin.

Blind Spots

Further Thoughts on Unemployment

BY PRINCE HOPKINS

HERE in England, where I am writing, at present there is great concern over the question of unemployment. There was a royal wedding the other week, of which the newspapers were full; and "Gadfly," who writes a semi-humorous, semi-serious column in the **Daily Herald,** Labor's own paper, quoted freely from them all. After each paragraph on "The noble duke did so and so" or "Lady Blink looked very charming in her white chiffon," he added in italics "yet the fact remains that there are now in England a million and a quarter unemployed!"

That is the difficulty. When a million and a quarter people are out of work, it is in vain that the capitalist press performs all its most unfailing tricks to entertain them with tales of the noble dukes' doings and my Lady Blink's gowns. A great pity, of course, that the call of an empty stomach should be so very loud. "Hot air" is much cheaper than wages. If only the masses could be taught to live on hot air all the time, as they already, for the most part, do during some of the time, our social system would be safe.

The ruling class have always been hopeful that the masses could at length be taught just this useful habit. Rulers tried it many times in the past, and paid for it in French revolutions and Russian revolutions. But our "aristocracy," our "best minds," our "directing brains," our "indespensible superior intellects" have this little fault —they never learn.

A word first, then, about this curious phenomenon, this indisputable fact, that every clique which has set out to lord it over others, has come to ignore the fact that its subjects have stomachs.

You probably know that near the center of the retina of your eye, there is a hole where all the nerves of the eye pass out on their way to the brain. Therefore any image which falls on this place, finds none of the little "rods and cones" which are necessary to vision, and it isn't seen. If you shut one eye and focus the other steadily upon an object at a little distance away, and then bring your finger at arms length from side to side across the field of vision, at one point the tip of your finger will seem to go out of existence and then reappear again. That was because the image of it fell, at that instant, upon this peculiar place in the retina, which is therefore called the Blind Spot.

Mentally Blind

Such a blind spot is physical. But our minds are full of blind spots of another sort. There are a lot of thoughts which we just can't grasp consciously, any more than the retina could grasp the image of that finger tip when it flitted across the blind spot in the eye. The places where we are mentally blind depend, however, on each particular individual. You are blind in one place, and I in another.

The reason that we are mentally blind to any particular fact is, that that fact is connected with something which it isn't pleasant for us to acknowledge. Suppose I have had some fearful setback to my pride by Smith; then my mind rebels at even recalling the name of Smith; it may rebel at thinking of any Smith at all.

Suppose that my privileged position in life is challenged by a set of ideas called Socialism. My mind is likely to act as though those ideas didn't exist; when someone brings up the name, Socialism, my mind will perhaps attach entirely other and quite foolish ideas to that name. It will say, "O, yes, Socialism—that means that you expect the rich to give all their money to the poor, doesn't it?" This allows it then to refute the unpleasant thought: "Why, if you did divide up, what would prevent the more able from getting it all back again in a few years?"

Suppose that I am a "business man," just about managing to pay my wife's dressmaking and jewelry accounts and launch my sons in business and advertise my daughters in the marriage market, and am a bit worried because new competitors in my line of trade are threatening to cut down my income. Then if some unpleasant fellow comes along with a tale of the working man being unable to keep his family in health on present wages, that just falls on my blind spot. "I just can't see the point at all. I have troubles enough of my own—why can't he keep his to himself?" "Profits are low enough as it is—how can I keep paying the existing rate of wages indefinitely?" "I can barely support my own family in the increasingly extravagant style that

is coming into fashion—how then can I think of the workingman's family too?"

Neither Conspiracy Nor Chance

So, you see, the refusal of every ruling class since the world began to make reasonable concessions to the times, must neither be regarded as a deliberate conspiracy to rob others, nor yet as a chance phenomenon which will cease to be true, if only we write our masters a sufficiently explanatory and tactful letter on the subject. They are not generally evil-minded—but this matter just hits their blind spot.

After how many a patient explanation, have I had my sincere but puzzled capitalist adversary exclaim, "I just can't see your view at all!" At such times one is tempted to quote Samuel Johnson's retort in a like circumstance: "I have supplied you with an argument; I am now obliged to supply you with an understanding. There I protest, sir, you are too much for me!" But what is lacking really is seldom the intelligence, but, unconsciously, the will to understand.

How can we supply this will? In most cases, there is no way. The individual is conscious of no such bias. It lies too deep. He would be ashamed of it if he felt it. But all the same it's a hard admission, this his life is built upon the exploitation of his fellow men, and that there is insufficient justification for the luxury in which he and his wife and children are supported. That this is owing to the fact that they "own" the tools which the masses must have access to in order to earn their daily bread—this admission is more painful than he can bear. So his mind thrusts it aside.

Few Traitors

You say there are exceptions. Some of the ruling class turn traitor and espouse the cause of the proletariat. Yes; but they are few. And in each of their cases, you will find that the strange perversion has been possible only because some other unconscious factor was also at work. For instance, here is a woman who has led a life of luxury up to her thirtieth year, and now gives all she has to the people. Ah, but the generous side of her nature has been for these thirty years starved, and she has had so much luxury that that side of her was fairly sickened—hers is like a religious conversion. Here is a man who leaves his rich friends, and throws himself headlong into the fight for labor. Yes, but he bears a hatred in his unconscious mind toward the wealthy class because they never treated him as quite one of themselves—he was too serious to amuse them, or he wasn't sexually attractive to their women, so they snubbed him till now he has turned to avenge himself. Or here is another philanthropist, famous for giving away in his old age the money he spent all his early life to accumulate. True; but he has a sense of guilt for the way he or his father accumulated much of it, and is now "making up" to his conscience.

Not Uplift, But Upheaval

The motive is not necessarily a discreditable one; but left without some complex of this kind, you will hardly find the man or woman of the ruling class who can admit that the system which supports him in luxury is bad. This is why the social revolution must come from the bottom. This is why uplift won't do, but only upheaval.

But those who are to do the upheaving; have they no blind spots too? Are only the rich blind; and is the human nature of the poor a different human nature, free from blemish?

Of course not. Each class has its own special blind spots—its weaknesses which it refuses to face. If you ask me what I think is the special weakness of the working class, I should reply: The refusal to take responsibilities. The refusal to think clearly and independently, holding ourselves rightly paid if things go wrong. "Give us a Messiah. Give us leaders!" "Make Europe safe for democracy, but leave us to read the funny page in the Sunday Supplement!"

At present the masses of America are more interested in baseball, and the masses of England in horse-racing, than in rallying to the support of their German comrades in the Ruhr, or in sending missionaries to their Chinese comrades, who are being recruited by international capitalism to compete against them with sweated goods from Asia. Unemployment, starvation, and isolation, coming as the result of such irresponsibility, will open the workers' eyes when it is too late.

Perhaps it is as well that unemployment has begun to threaten us already, rather than that it should descend on us like a cloudburst when the German workers are reduced to serfs, and when factories run by Asiatic coolies have enabled the American capitalists who own them to bid defiance to the demands of their workers at home for even a fraction of the wages now current. For the sting of reality is the most effective cure for mental blind-spots. Heavy sleepers can be wakened by the whip of hunger.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

Louis F. Budenz, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors

THE MINERS NEAR 500,000

BY far the biggest event in the American Labor World this month is the meeting of the United Mine Workers in convention at Indianapolis. This will be followed by negotiations with the operators, also scheduled for February. What will come out of these events is yet to be seen. They will be reported in these pages later.

But it is encouraging to note that the advance copy of Secretary-Treasurer Green's report shows that the American Miners have reached the high mark in membership of their career. Despite the attacks upon them, despite the charges and counter-charges within their ranks during the past two years, the union has climbed to a membership of 445,734. It has also paid up every dollar of the $848,000 loaned for the last big strike and has a balance in its treasury of over one million dollars. If the union can as successfully carry on its fight for nationalization as that it has conducted on the union field, Labor in America has much to hope for in the future.

QUESTION: "WHY WORKERS' EDUCATION?"

ONE of Bulwer-Lytton's huge novels bore the interesting title, "What Will He Do With It?"

That is a question that might well be asked of the student at a workers' education institution. What is it all about? What will he, or she, do with the education secured, to help forward the labor movement?

About that question revolve a number of interesting other questions. With the growth of workers' education throughout the country, it is becoming more and more asked in all seriousness: "What is the goal of this effort? Why is it being done?"

Aside from one or two places—Brookwood, for example—there does not yet seem to be a clear answer. In some schools dramatic art is gone in for strongly. That is the case in Portland. In some others, technical subjects near to the worker—drawing, for example, is being taught. That is what is happening in Washington. There are good arguments for both of these efforts. But frankly, Miss Mary Dent, the conscientious leader of the Washington school, is not satisfied with that sort of thing as an important part of the curriculum. She feels that the labor school or college should fit workers for direct participation in the organized struggle. There are many others who think that same way, and are making the same queries.

Some light is likely to be shed on this subject in the conference of labor college teachers called at the Brookwood Workers College for February 22 and 23. This meeting is limited to teachers who are members of the Teachers' Union. This is quite right. It is more than a paradox that men and women who have not sufficient appreciation of the trade union movement to join their own union, should be teaching in workers' schools.

The immediate subject under discussion there will probably be the best method of "teaching" workers' classes. But undoubtedly in the background will run the theme: What should be taught? A check-up on this will be of the greatest value to the Labor Movement. Just now there is great danger, apparently, that the Workers' Education Movement will become too academic and "social-servicy."

TWO UNIQUE BANKS

NO longer does the establishment of new labor banks cause a ripple on the smooth surface of things. We are becoming quite used to seeing these concerns spring up and flourish. Newspapers can no longer thrill their readers with the idea of Labor controlling its own money, and magazines can no longer speculate on what the new move means.

That stage of this development is now over with, and the period of steady planning and hard work in labor financing is ahead. When a new bank, however, even at this "late day," attracts thousands of folks to its first opening—too many for the bank itself to handle—some idea can be gained of the value of this business to the mass of the workers.

It was the International Union Bank which received this hearty welcome—the fourth of New York's labor banks. It is somewhat different from the ordinary labor bank in that it has been established by a number of international and local unions, and is not the property of one international. The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union took the initiative in its beginning. Others interested are the International Fur Workers' Union, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, the International Pocketbook Workers' Union and the Forward Publishing Co., owners of the Jewish Daily Forward. Abraham Baroff of the I. L. G. W. U. is president, and Philip Kaplowitz, whose capable management built the fine

headquarters of the New York Cloakmakers' Union, is cashier.

Of equally unique character is the Federation Bank of New York, opened in May of last year under the auspices of the State Federation and the Central Trades and Labor Council. During the first seven months of its existence, its resources had increased from $500,000 to $3,700,000. This increase has continued since, so that on January 19, 1924, its resources totaled over $4,000,000.

"Pool your finances as you do your economic power" is the keynote of this institution. The primary reason for its establishment, states its president, Peter Brady, is to give the workers control of their own money. "Hearings before Congressional, Federal and State Commissions," he adds, "have disclosed conclusive evidence that it was the money of the working people in the banks of the country that was being used to destroy many unions."

The entry of Organized Labor into the field of finance in New York, he declares, has already prevented an open shop drive against the local workers of the building trades. These workers have just won a remarkable victory, receiving substantial wage raises without difficulty.

Unions of all sorts of internationals and from all sorts of industries are the stockholders and depositors in the Federated Bank. It is the only bank in which a state federation is directly interested.

The successful carrying on of these ventures not only means that Labor has control of its own financial resources. It also shows that Labor can, as a collective group, conduct big enterprises. The Labor bank is undoubtedly the cornerstone on which shall be built other efforts in Labor control—perhaps in industry and "business."

CONTINUING A GOOD MAN'S WORK

GOOD words are beautiful things to be able to say of a friend who has died. Fine thoughts of him are a real tribute to his effective life among us. But neither words nor thoughts, without action, will continue the work which he has begun and which, over and beyond himself, has endeared him to us.

Arthur Gleason was a man, like unto the tree which grows beside the running waters. Like it, he brought forth his fruit in due season. One of the most far-reaching of these fruits, and the one in which he was most deeply interested, is workers' education. He saw that out of it would come a quickening of the spirit and ability of the class which is on the threshold of world control.

What more appropriate thing can be done to continue this work than a permanent scholarship in such an institution as the Brookwood Workers College, providing living and educational expenses for some active American trade unionist? Many a labor man on the firing line of the struggle is unable financially to give a year of his time to the study of economic and scientific questions. Yet, it is a knowledge of these very questions which will aid him the more to be of real service to his fellow workers and the whole Movement.

LABOR AGE recommends this step to the friends of Arthur Gleason within and without the Labor Movement. We hope to see within the next month a definite movement started to establish such a scholarship at Brookwood, which is at present our leading trade union college. Will some of our readers help us in making this start?

OUT OF THE 44-HOUR FIGHT

IN the Middle West, the local labor movements have adopted a novel scheme of campaign against the "open shop" forces.

They have decided to wage war for the union shop with their organized purchasing power. Not in the old way of the "label leagues"—although the plan works hand in hand with the "label league" idea—but in an entirely new fashion.

It all arose in St. Louis three years ago, out of the Printers' battle for the 44-hour week. That has been the hardest fight that the Typographical Union, perhaps, has ever fought. In St. Louis it was no different than in other cities. Only a few big employers—the Garrison-Wagner Co. and the Von Hoffman Press, conspicuously—signed up with the union immediately. The others preferred to "fight."

An organized demand for the union label was set on foot—through the Trade Union Promotional League. This was an organization, created and financed by the unions of the city. It organized on ward lines, just as the local political machines do. It had its members return matter that came to their homes, without the label. In one week thousands of leaflets distributed by department stores were returned on that account. It advertised the houses using the union label.

Mass meetings were held all over the city. Sympathetic speakers were enrolled. The Musicians' Union contributed thousands of dollars in music. Each union did its share. The result was victory in the printing trade fight—and the spread of the movement to other cities. Louisville, Cincinnati, the Twin Cities, and other places, now have such union label organizations, spreading the fame and value of union-made goods.

Local movements in other cities which wish to become familiar with this work and its detailed results can write H. E. Huneke, Field Secretary, Trade Union Promotion League, 619 Victoria Bldg., St. Louis. It has undoubtedly worked wonders out there.

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS FOR SINGLE PERSONS

Income	Present Tax	Proposed Tax
$1,200	$ 8	$ 4.50
$2,000	$ 40	$22.50
$3,000	$ 80	$45.00
$3,600	$104	$58.50
$4,000	$120	$67.50
$5,000	$160	$90.00

TAX ELIMINATIONS RECOMMENDED BY SECRETARY MELLON

	Tax for 1923
Telegraph, telephone or radio message	$29,075,000.
Leased wires or talking circuits	1,190,000.
Admission to theatres, etc.	70,148,000.
Total	$100,413,000.

These taxes amount to about 91 cents per annum for every man, woman and child in the United States, and they touch many people who are not liable for income tax. They are collectible in such small amounts that they are known as "nuisance taxes."

He'd Write

"UNLESS he gets a bill for direct taxes the average man does not even know how large a share of that direct taxation he is shouldering in his cost of living. If he did, he would sit down and indite a few burning lines to his senators and congressmen, telling them to get behind Mellon's program for tax reductions."

—*"Saturday Evening Post."*

Peril in Taxes

"FAILURE to reduce the tax burden of the American people will imperil prosperity. The tax burden has increased more in the United States than in any other country except England. Since 1913 taxation here has increased 204 per cent, in England 217 per cent."

—*Lewis E. Pierson, President, Merchants' Association of New York*

No. 37 January 12, 1924

Food for Thought

The Twentieth Century Limited

Published every week by the NEW YORK CENTRAL LINES
466 Lexington Avenue, New York

This is a fine example of the cooperation being given to Mr. Mellon by the railway and other big interests, in their effort to humbug the people into the "Mellon Plan." This little leaflet, part only of which is reproduced, is handed out by the New York Central lines to all patrons of their dining car service. Why the railroads are so solicitous about this plan is shown by the Labor Bureau. After a careful study it reveals the "plan" a shiny gold brick for the workers. (Incidentally, in last month's issue—page 15—we mistakenly termed Mr. Mellon "Secretary of the Interior." No doubt the slip was due to the close connection between the Secretary of the Treasury's "moral" methods and the ex-Secretary of the Interior's "immoral" ways.)

THE HEALTH BATTLE IN NEW YORK

THE wages of sin are death"—for the one sinned against more frequently than for the sinner.

No crime against fellow-humans has wrought more terrible havoc than the greed of those in charge of industry. Particularly do we see the "wages of sin" in the disease-producing trades—where protection of the workers is neglected.

Look at the granite cutter in Vermont. Of his fellows, 85% are destroyed by the ravages of industrial tuberculosis. There is an almost unbelievable "turnover" in their ranks, due to disease and death among them. The dust they swallow every minute of their working day is their death warrant. And yet, in the agreement between their union and the employers it is merely set down that protective devices will be introduced "when practicable." In practice, this means "almost never."

The subway construction worker in New York City faces the same dust, and suffers from the same curse of disease. Among his fellows, too, industrial "t.b." is an inevitable occurence—a part of his stock in trade.

Then, there is benzole—the poison of poisons, which has been making such alarming inroads into the health and life of the workers. Its use is spreading more and more, as the employers learn that it is much cheaper and more powerful than other materials used for the same purpose. The danger from it is thus becoming greater and greater.

In the rubber industry its use is already widespread. It is entering the millinery trade, in the rubber cement used to put the different parts of the hats together. It is widely used in painting.

The organized workers are awakening to these dangers. They are compelling the workers to curb them, and to protect the workers against them. In New York the union men as a whole are now making a drive to secure legislation, which will make occupational diseases a part of the compensation law. The New York State Federation of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Council—ably assisted by the Workers Health Bureau and the Compensation Department of the Building Trades—are throwing every ounce of energy into this effort.

This is of the greatest immediate value to the workers of New York. It will protect them and their families when industrial disease and death visit them. It will spur the employers, as a matter of self interest, to do something effective toward prevention of occupational disease.

IN EUROPE

A NEW PREMIER

STANLEY BALDWIN, as a New York newspaper recently remarked, is now facing an unemployment problem of his own. Last month he stepped down and out, after a Labor-Liberal vote of non-confidence in his party and his program.

J. Ramsay McDonald, Socialist, is now at the head of the British Empire. The press of the world has not failed to prick up its ears at that news. The friend and disciple of Keir Hardie has now carried the banner of that staunch old Scotchman into the Sanctum of Sanctums at 10 Downing Street. Recognized by every wing of the Labor Party to be their accepted leader, he has shown his wisdom and moderation in the first few steps that he has taken as Premier of Great Britain.

Coming out of the Independent Labor Party, editor of its official organ, MacDonald combines a fundamentally radical philosophy with a shrewd pragmatism. He is a master at Parliamentary maneuvering. It was he, perhaps more than any other, who drew together the peculiarly different elements that make up the Labor Party. A pronounced pacifist, he was eclipsed for a moment during the war—when British Labor went nationalistic. But the after-the-war reaction has made him stronger than before; "a towering giant of left politics," as a writer in our own **New York Times** calls him.

First a schoolmaster, then a secretary, finally an editor, MacDonald has never worked with his hands. But he has always been surrounded, and in intimate contact, with the leaders of the trade unions—to his great gain. After his marriage in 1896, to the niece of Lord Kelvin, he traveled extensively through the United States and the British dominions.

C. F. G. Masterman, the Englishman, writing in the **Century** some time ago, thus describes the new Premier: "This labor leader, more than any other member of any party in the House, possesses a secure equipment of first-hand intimate knowledge of the people who are ruling or about to rule the nations (of the world)."

If fierce is the light that beats about a throne, equally fierce are the temptations to the labor man in political power. But MacDonald has stood the test of his principles in his brilliant and brave stand against the war—and can be trusted, if any man can, to steer the British Labor ship on to full victory.

HIS JOB—AFTER HUMPTY-DUMPTY

IF the Humpty-Dumpty fall of Baldwin from the High Tariff Wall put Labor in power, it also presented the Labor Government with unsolved problems. As the **Labour Monthly** says, "The greatest test so far has come to the working class movement of this country."

As to the fine and enthusiastic spirit in which this test will be met, nothing gave a clearer picture of that than the Albert Hall "victory meeting." This was held on January 9, "to welcome the Labor victors in the General Election of 1923." "In numbers, in enthusiasm, in fervor for the cause, in quick readiness to pick up points," writes Hamilton Fyfe, editor of the **London Daily Herald,** "the comrades who filled the immense rotunda, tier upon tier, right up to the ceiling, where they were thickly packed, created a new record."

J. Ramsay MacDonald was chairman, and pledged the Party to "guard with all the care that tender hearts can show the lamp that (the pioneers) lit before the altars of democracy and Socialism."

What that means in concrete terms is told concisely by F. W. Pethick Lawrence, who had the honor of defeating Winston Churchill. In **Foreign Affairs** for January, Lawrence writes:

> "The profound significance (of a Labor Government) is so patent as to need no stressing. But the aspect which may perhaps escape the attention of some people unless it is pointed out, is that its bearing on foreign affairs is of even greater importance than on home politics.
>
> "The chief reason for this is," he says, "that the truth is at last coming out.
>
> "The whole citadel of lies on which Liberal leaders, Coalition leaders, Conservative leaders have built up the foreign policy of this country during the last few years is crumbling into ruin. The treaty of Versailles is known to be an utterly monstrous and unworkable pact. The reparation figures are known to be an insane miscalculation. The refusal to recognize the de facto Russian Government is known to be fatuous folly."

ITEMS ALMOST OVERLOOKED

WHEN the hurly-burly's done; when the battle's lost or won," some small items may be overlooked in the general excitement. Sometimes these items later grow to big importance.

Two such items—practically not commented on anywhere—in connection with the British election, may be set down here for future reference.

One of these, was the loss of their seats by the Communist members in Parliament. Despite the general Labor sweep, both Newbold and Saklatvala were defeated in the districts which had previously sent them to Parliament. This leaves none of the followers of Moscow in the House. "As things are," the **Communist Review** condoles, "the proletarian opposition to the Fabianism of MacDonald, Webb, and the dominant Parliamentary leaders falls to Wheatley, Maxton, Johnston, Kirkwood and the other proletarian elements scattered and diffused throughout the Party." But Wheatley, the outstanding member of this group, has entered MacDonald's cabinet as Min-

THE COOPERATIVE PARTY

IN connection with the note on the Cooperative Party, mentioned on this page, the following statement by Dr. J. P. Warbasse, of the Cooperative League of America, is of interest:

"The Cooperative Party is not wholly separate from the Labor Party in England. It came into existence toward the close of the war because the Cooperators realized that the Government was attempting to destroy the cooperative societies. It was organized specifically to protect these societies from the British Government. But from the beginning, it has always had an understanding with the Labor Party that neither would run a candidate against the other.

"In some Districts the Labor Party has been satisfied with the Cooperative Party candidate and has supported him. There is also an understanding that the Labor Party will, so far as possible, put up candidates who are members of cooperative societies and who are sympathetic with the cooperative movement.

"On the other hand, the Cooperative Party would not put up a candidate who is antagonistic to the Labor Party.

"This situation is peculiar. It is not as though there were two antagonistic parties. They are really supplementary.

"There is, however, a strong feeling among many Cooperators that the Cooperative Party is unnecessary. In fact, there is a large school of cooperators who contend that the Cooperative Movement must be kept absolutely free from politics. To this end the German, the Finnish and several other national movements in their congresses have so resolved. Political neutrality is essentially a cooperative principle."

ister of Housing, a most difficult and intricate job. That will keep him busy—and it is safe to say that he will have no time or desire to buck MacDonald's policies—if that is what the Communists hope.

Defeat seems to have sobered the Communists themselves somewhat. Their advice to the Labor Party leaders in their January journal is more brotherly in tone and less cock-sure than heretofore.

The other item worth while noting is the presence of the Cooperative Party in the field, and its gain of two more seats. Thus, a total of six

Australian Worker

BACK TO THE BOTTLE

The British election, from an Australian point of view.

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A FATAL MISTAKE

The French situation—coming to a crisis soon, with the elections.

members sit as Cooperative Party champions this coming session. Of course, their platform on all important questions is that of the Labor Party, and they vote solidly with Labor.

The presence of this party in the field, however, raises the interesting question which has received some attention before in LABOR AGE. The cooperative movement has in the past in all countries always held itself aloof from political action. Its general program now in Britain is merely to support those candidates who will not hinder cooperation. This, of course, leads cooperators to throw their support almost unanimously back of the Labor Party.

But the cooperators increasingly contend that the Labor Party is too much under the control of trade unionists. There is a cooperative philosophy, they declare, that no other party but their own could represent. "The Cooperators' Party," in the words of one of their leading members, "is the organized consumers' party of the country—out to change the system of production from that of profit-making to production for use."

This sort of philosophy may also cover a multitude of sins—to the workers in the cooperative factories. **It is the working out of this apparent clash of interests between the organized consumers and the organized workers which will become more and more the big problem of the future—after the two have routed the Profit Makers.**

With Our Readers

(The interest aroused by the subjects discussed in recent issues of LABOR AGE has flooded this office with letters from our readers. It is impossible to publish all of them, but from now on we will devote at least one page to the most interesting of this correspondence.)

CONCERNING CRONIN

I HAVE read with much interest the account given by Mr. Budenz of the activities of Mr. James C. Cronin, masquerading under the alias "Operative 03." I am writing to correct one statement which Mr. Budenz makes and repeats, namely, that Mr. Cronin was, up until May fifth last, the Chairman of the Industrial Board. Mr. Cronin was never Chairman of the Board. The law provides that the Commissioner, now the Secretary of Labor and Industry, is ex-officio, the Chairman of the Industrial Board. Perhaps Mr. Budenz was lead into error by the fact that Mr. Cronin had been made Chairman of the Industrial Codes Committee of the Industrial Board. When I took charge of the Department of Labor and Industry, I continued him in this capacity until I could test out whether he was a faithful and trustworthy employe of the State. I was, of course, very busy with the enormous task of reorganizing a Department which had become pretty thoroughly disorganized. I very soon discovered that Mr. Cronin was doing nothing so far as I could discover or extract out of him, in the way of completing the Industrial Codes which I had definitely assigned to him for completion.

Shortly after the middle of last May, I called for his expense accounts. Mr. Cronin had just handed in his so-called "expense account" for May. He charged the State at the maximum rate provided under the law for members of the Industrial Board, namely, ten dollars per diem for twenty days of alleged service in May. The thing that immediately struck my eye was the form of his so-called "expense account." It was written in pencil on a sheet of yellow legal cap paper. All it consisted of was the dates up to and including the thirty-first of May. This "expense account" was sent in, as I have stated, shortly after the middle of May. Of course, I returned this statement at once and pointed out to Mr. Cronin that I could not accept it and that I could only pay him legally for services actually rendered to the State and properly accounted for. I requested him to make his expense accounts in proper form accompanied by vouchers stating what service he had rendered and at what place. I received no reply to this reasonable letter asking for a business-like accounting of time spent in the State's service. Mr. Cronin refused to make out a proper expense account, doubtless for the reason that he rendered no service for which he could give a proper account. Mr. Cronin has not drawn a cent of money from the State Treasury of Pennsylvania since April last. He ceased to be a member of the Industrial Board on May thirty-first, last.

I am writing you at this length in order to acquaint you with the facts as to Mr. Cronin's connection with the Industrial Board and the circumstances leading up to his retirement from connection with the Department of Labor and Industry, which retirement was, in effect, a dismissal in disgrace for insubordination and falsification of expense accounts.

I should be very glad if you will publish this correction and amplification of Mr. Cronin's record while connected with the Industrial Board, Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry.

ROYAL MEEKER,
Secretary, Department of Labor and Industry
(Commonwealth of Pennsylvania)

IN his very well-written article entitled "Operative 03," in the December number of the **Labor Age**, I note that Mr. Budenz refers to Mr. James Cronin as having been "Chairman of Pennsylvania's Industrial Commission." May I correct that statement? Mr. Cronin was never Chairman of the commission (or Industrial Board). He was merely the labor member of that Board—one of its general make-up—even as I myself was connected with it for a number of years. It was understood that he was appointed by the Governor of the State to that position as representing the labor interests of the State acceptably to labor at the time of his appointment. He was never more than chairman of committees in charge of certain lines of work—a responsibility which devolved from time to time upon all members of the Board. I think it would be well if this correction could be publicly made.

Very truly yours,
MRS. SAMUEL SEMPLE.

Titusville, Pa.

A SUGGESTION

I READ with interest in your magazine (December issue) your proposal of putting the unemployed to work by more expenditure of public funds on public improvements.

If under our present system of taxation the Government cannot afford to raise the revenue for this purpose it can gradually increase the taxes on the ground rent derived annually from the site value of the land since all expenditures on public improvements increases its value.

Yours respectfully,
ALEX J. McISAAC.

Cambridge, Mass.

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BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

PEACE THROUGH THE LEAGUE?

IN the midst of all this turmoil of Europe, and upon receiving some of the pamphlets of the League, I've asked myself: "Oughn't every lover of peace to join even this imperfect League? With all its failures, it also can claim a few war-preventing achievements."

So I devoured greedily all that Dr. J. W. Hughan had to say about the League in her eminently fair and thorough **"Study of International Government"** (Thos. Y. Crowell Co., N. Y.). "From the working class International," Dr. Hughan says, "it has called forth, on the whole, a response of antagonism, and from internationalism in the broader sense, of disappointment. Toward the Imperialist movement the League has seemed, if not friendly, at least tolerant. The outstanding fact . . . has been the apparent negligibility of the League in the eyes of the Great Powers, and its official failure to give reasonable direction to the whirling chaos of post-bellum rivalries."

Elsewhere she says: "The rivalry of the Powers springing from our economic system is not only a principal cause of modern war, but also a serious source of weakness in the League." Nevertheless she is aware "that both Socialist and Liberal may have fixed attention too exclusively upon the rational causes for war, losing sight of factors that lie deep in the physical and mental structure of humanity. The fallacy of the economic man may not have wholly disappeared."

Furthermore, she has an admonition for most of us in "the opposite war reactions of the British Quakers and the German Socialists. The Pacifist philosophy of the former suggests the individual conduct to be followed in the event of war; that of the latter provided for mass action alone."

The final third of the book is given to an extensive survey of the various emotional factors involved in the war spirit, and in the most hopeful methods of drafting them away into less blighting channels of expression. The concluding—and interesting—advice of the book is "that the internationalists of the next generation, after making a few obviously needed changes in their completed machinery, and providing an economic environment in which it can function without hindrance, will turn more and more to the social psychologists for help."

AMERICAN LIFE IN FICTION

NOVELS of American life continue to appear. None have excited such comment as Sinclair Lewis' twin stories, **"Main Street"** and **"Babbitt."** Probably this is due to the fact that these books struck so deeply and sarcastically at the roots of present-day American habits. A book of the Middle West, more understanding perhaps than those of Lewis, and therefore less sensational, is Brand Whitlock's **"J. Harden and Son"** (D. Appleton & Co.). It depicts the drama of the war between Puritanism and Paganism which has been fought out, relentlessly, in that region during the past few decades. It is a piece of work well done; but it lacks an insight into the economic background of the struggle which it pictures. In its method of narration, however, it catches the imagination of the reader; and is, on the whole, a pretty vivid surface record of the clashing elements of life in the Ohio country.

Again, there is **"Bread"** by Charles G. Norris (E. P. Dutton and Co.), another surface sketch of American ways of living. Although Norris can never measure up to the stature of his famous brother, lacking a certain substance that Frank possessed, his tale of the American workingwoman of the secretarial class is by no means to be passed up. Easy to read, because of its conversational style, it presents a problem which faces many women today—but which is perhaps not so serious as Norris would have us believe. We would have preferred to see a story of the workingwoman who never rises beyond the typist's desk or the machine of the garment factory.

Towering above either of these novels, is Willa Cather's **"One of Ours"**—a tale of Nebraska and farm life there. This is a fine piece of work, which would ornament any library, trade union or private. Claude's career, so futile always and ending so disastrously, is a study worth pondering over. For, it gives a cue to some of the problems facing the American farmer, accounting in part for the rush to the cities from the farm districts, and to the unrest existing out in the West. As a human document, it is also interesting—down to the last page.

WHAT THE FARMERS FACE

PERMANENT union of the farmers and workers of this country is a pretty certain forecast. There are many signs of it—economically as well as politically. The union is beginning to develop, not only in the Northwest, but in other parts of the country. In the South, as an example, the Farmer-Labor Union of America has grown up, embracing several hundred thousand dirt farmers.

Under these circumstances, it is worth while for the worker to know in a more or less intimate way of some of the problems of his brother on the soil. Students of labor problems, also, can well devote some of their time to a study of the farmers' difficulties and hopes.

A book supplying this information in a satisfactory manner is **"Rural Sociology,"** by Dr. John M. Gillette, of the University of North Dakota (MacMillan Company, New York). Although the book is written primarily for students in farm economics, its chapters on the rural health problem, on the farmers and economic action, the tenant system and the farmers and political action are interesting to anyone.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Gillette ignores to a degree in his discussion of cooperation between city and country —the great possibilities which lie in an alliance of the farmers and the city workers. His concern there is largely with working out some agreement between the small business men of the towns and the country population. However, that fact can be taken into consideration in studying his volume—which otherwise gives a good view of what the farmers face.

In regard to joint political action by workers and farmers, Dr. Gillette gives this well-poised view of the situation: "The conclusion can scarcely be avoided that political action is practically bound to be the ultimate resort of every interest and class, when other means of securing alleviation of abuses have failed. Government is instituted and maintained as a means of reconciling antagonistic interests and of securing justice for the exploited and oppressed. But government in a democracy moves only as it is moved by organized pressure, and this organized pressure is more likely to be exerted by means of some sort of political action than otherwise. And this political organization is very apt to take the shape of a class-conscious movement. It is, then, a question of expediency, whether it shall take the form of a distinct and separate political party or of an organization that resorts to exerting political pressure on or through the existent parties."

Union Men Complain

Frequently, of the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the Labor Movement in the "intellectual" or non-labor publications.

Frequently, too, this complaint is justified. Men who are not on the firing line of the Labor Fight cannot understand the hopes and aspirations of the Labor Movement.

Labor men and labor unions themselves should take advantage of their own publications—especially those that measure up, technically and in contents, to standard publications. LABOR AGE claims that happy distinction.

It is a "World's Work," "Literary Digest" and technical journal for the Labor Movement. It is more than that—a Service to that Movement, assisting it in its hand-to-hand fights.

IN THE COMING ISSUE:

SHALL LABOR TAKE PART IN SHOP MANAGEMENT?

(Discussion of the Shopcrafts' Plan on the B. & O.)

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